

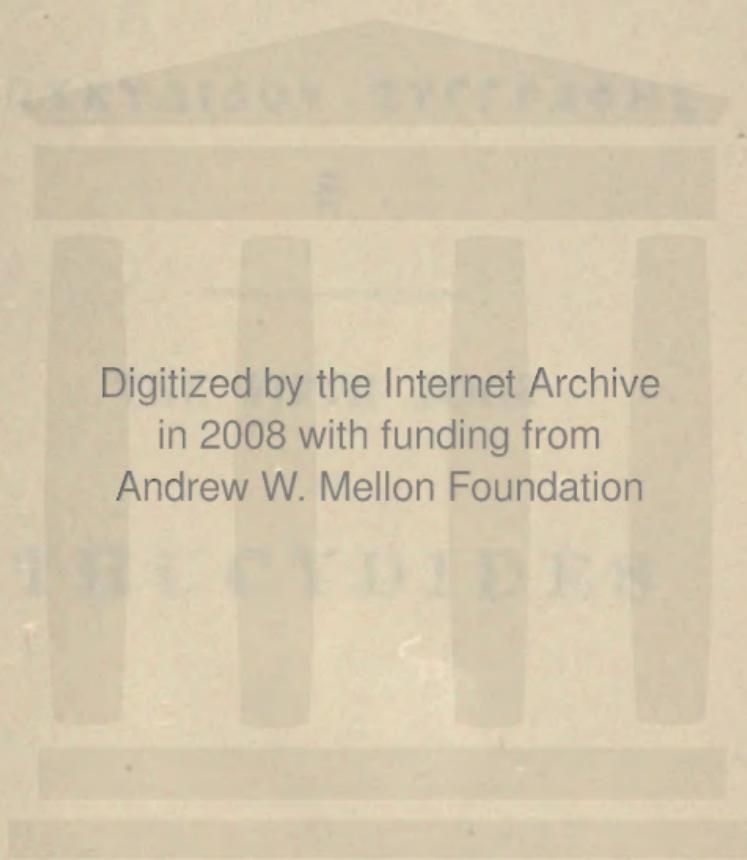


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ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ

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THE FIFTH BOOK

OF

THUCYDIDES



ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΕΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ

E

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THE FIFTH BOOK

OF

THUCYDIDES

*EDITED WITH NOTES*

BY

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CAMBRIDGE.

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С. В. ОРДЕНСКИЙ

ДИСТАКСИЯ СОВЕТСКОГО ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОГО КОМПЛЕКСА  
СОВЕТСКОГО РЕСПУБЛИКАНСКОГО ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОГО КОМПЛЕКСА

СИТИКИ, ОД НУЗА МАЛІМДАЛ  
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## PREFACE

I OWE my long-suffering publishers many apologies for the tardy appearance of this book, which was begun some years ago. It is planned on the same lines as my edition of Book IV, and is mainly indebted to the same authorities. There is however somewhat less translation given in the notes, and more discussion of the text. On this point I have felt much difficulty and hesitation. The fifth Book is generally free from great grammatical difficulties, but it presents perpetual questions of unsatisfactory reading, and almost more than any other calls for the hand of a master critic. An editor has indeed his choice of suggestions in plenty, but the choice is mostly far from tempting. And unless his confidence is grounded on great experience he would do well to keep Quintilian's words before him: '*quaedam in veteribus libris reperta mutare imperiti solent et, dum libra-*

riorum insectari volunt inscientiam, suam confitentur.' In points of proposed emendation I have found welcome assistance from Mr Harold N. Fowler's edition (Boston 1888). It is founded on Classen, but gives besides much recent German criticism. Notes due exclusively to Mr Fowler are marked F. I have also to thank Mr A. W. Spratt, of St Catherine's College, for thorough revision of the proof-sheets and for many valuable suggestions. The grammatical work chiefly referred to is the latest edition of Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses*. Some references to the sections of the earlier edition may have escaped notice, but I have tried to alter the plates throughout.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
*August. 1891.*

## INTRODUCTION

In the year 424 two great blows fell upon Athens. An enterprise against Boeotia met with complete failure, ending in a disastrous defeat near Oropus. Besides this a large part of the Thrace-ward possessions fell into the hands of Brasidas, and especially Amphipolis the key of Thrace. Thus Athens was disposed to listen to terms, and as Sparta was above all anxious to recover the captives from Sphacteria, a truce for one year was concluded in 423.

The fifth Book begins with the expiration of this truce, when an expedition was made, urged by Cleon, in the hope of regaining Athenian ascendancy in Thrace. Exhausted as she must have been, Athens was able to despatch a strong force of chosen citizens, with the flower of the allies. But being, from party-intrigue or whatever cause, under the sole conduct of Cleon, the army was foredoomed to ruin. It did indeed recapture Torone, but was shattered and dispersed in the fatal battle of Amphipolis. These events occupy the first thirteen chapters of the Book, and with them concludes the first period of the war. So far, or some few chapters further, the history seems to have been completed, and to have received its final revision, after the Peloponnesian war was over.

This revision was not given to the bulk of the records in the rest of our fifth Book. Critics at any rate find them lacking in the finish which marks the first decade and the subsequent account of events in Sicily. Passages there undoubtedly are which prove a late date of composition<sup>1</sup>, while others appear rather to embody the notes of a contemporary observer. Thus we have minuteness of detail on the one hand; and on the other harshness of language, unusual words and phrases, repetitions, corrections, and possibly interpolations. Dramatic effect is lost, because the point of view is too near the scene. Still we have no doubt in the main the history which Thucydides intended to give of the intervening time of hollow peace before the invasion of Sicily. Though full, it is monotonous and dull; a list of intrigues and counter-intrigues, state plotting against state, oligarchy and democracy threatening and countermiming turn by turn. Fear and jealousy of Sparta lead to a confederacy in the Argive interest. There is however no energetic policy in Athens or in the states of Peloponnesus; and but little of personal interest, now that the chivalrous figure of Brasidas and the coarse but vigorous personality of Cleon have passed away. 'The baleful star of Alcibiades' does indeed appear above the horizon, but there is scarcely a name besides that we remember but that of the honest, blundering Agis. Nor does the historian introduce a single speech from the tenth to the end of the fourteenth year.

In 418 the Argive league was crushed at Mantinea, and Sparta regained by the signal valour of her soldiers her position of military supremacy. The description of the battle is vivid and exact, and seems to have received the writer's final touch. No less elaborate is the 'Melian dialogue,' which takes up the closing chapters of the Book. It is a kind of historical drama, in which the Athenian

<sup>1</sup> See ch. 26.

actors represent without disguise the cynical contempt for right which Thucydides repeatedly attributes to Athenian policy. Melos was a Dorian colony, which had been throughout independent of Athens, though taking no part against her. The Athenians make no profession of disregarded claims or injuries which called for vengeance. No law divine or human has any power to hold them back; justice, equity and mercy are but idle words. They simply parade their overpowering strength, and offer the choice of surrender or destruction. In the display of their arrogance and impiety, their reckless greed and lawless confidence, we have a fitting prologue to the tragedy of Syracuse.



# ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

## ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Ε

- 1 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους αἱ μὲν ἐνιαύσιοι σπονδαὶ διελέλυντο μέχρι Πυθίων. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι Δηλίους ἀνέστησαν ἐκ Δήλου, ἡγησάμενοι κατὰ παλαιὸν τινα αἰτίαν οὐ καθαροὺς δύντας  
2 ιερῶσθαι, καὶ ἄμα ἐλλιπὲς σφίσιν εἶναι τοῦτο τῆς καθάρσεως ἥ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται ώς ἀνελόντες τὰς θήκας τῶν τεθνεώτων ὁρθῶς ἐνόμισαν ποιῆσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Δηλιοὶ Ἀτραμύττιον Φαρνάκου δόντος αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὥκησαν, οὕτως ώς ἔκαστος ὥρμητο.  
3 Κλέων δὲ Ἀθηναίους πείσας ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἑξέπλευσε μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, Ἀθηναίων μὲν ὅπλίτας ἔχων διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους καὶ ἵππεας τριακοσίους, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων πλείους, ναῦς δὲ τριάκοντα. σχὼν δὲ ἐς Σκιώνην πρῶτον ἔτι πολιορκουμένην καὶ προσλαβὼν αὐτόθεν ὅπλίτας τῶν φρουρῶν κατέπλευσεν ἐς τὸν <sup>1</sup>Κωφὸν λιμένα τῶν Τορωναίων ἀπέχοντα οὐ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως. ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσ-
- B.C. 422. Termination of the truce. Removal of the inhabitants of Delos.
- Expedition of Cleon to the Thrace-ward districts.

<sup>1</sup> Κολοφωνίων

θόμενος ὑπ' αὐτομόλων ὅτι οὕτε Βρασίδας ἐν τῇ <sup>10</sup>  
Τορώνῃ οὕτε οἱ ἐνόντες ἀξιόμαχοι εἴεν, τῇ μὲν  
στρατιᾷ <sup>1</sup> τῇ πεζῇ ἔχώρει ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ναῦς δὲ πε-  
ριέπεμψε δέκα ἐς τὸν λιμένα περιπλεῖν. καὶ πρὸς  
τὸ περιτείχισμα πρῶτον ἀφικνεῖται, ὃ προσπεριέ-  
βαλε τῇ πόλει ὁ Βρασίδας, ἐντὸς βουλόμενος ποιῆ-<sup>15</sup>  
σαι τὸ προάστειον, καὶ διελὼν τοῦ παλαιοῦ τείχους  
3 μίαν αὐτὴν ἐποίησε πόλιν. βοηθήσαντες δὲ ἐς

He recovers  
Torone. αὐτὸν Πασιτελίδας τε ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος

ἀρχῶν καὶ ἡ παροῦσα φυλακὴ προσβα-  
λόντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡμύνοντο. καὶ ὡς ἐβιάζον-  
το καὶ αἱ νῆσες ἄμα περιέπλεον <sup>2</sup> αἱ ἐς τὸν λιμένα <sup>5</sup>  
περιπεμφθεῖσαι, δείσας ὁ Πασιτελίδας μὴ αἱ τε  
νῆσι φθάσωσι λαβοῦσαι ἐρῆμον τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῦ  
τειχίσματος ἀλισκομένου ἐγκαταληφθῆ, ἀπολιπὼν  
2 αὐτὸν δρόμῳ ἔχώρει ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι  
φθάνουσιν οἵ τε ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐλόντες τὴν Τορώ-<sup>10</sup>  
νην καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἐπισπόμενος αὐτοβοεί κατὰ τὸ  
διηρημένον τοῦ παλαιοῦ τείχους ξυνεσπεσών. καὶ  
τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Τορω-  
ναίων εὐθὺς ἐν χερσί, τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον καὶ  
3 Πασιτελίδαν τὸν ἄρχοντα. Βρασίδας δὲ ἐβοήθει <sup>15</sup>  
μὲν τῇ Τορώνῃ, αἰσθόμενος δὲ καθ' ὁδὸν ἑαλωκυῖαν  
ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀποσχὼν τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα  
σταδίους μὴ φθάσαι ἐλθών. ὁ δὲ Κλέων καὶ οἱ  
Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖα τε ἔστησαν δύο, τὸ μὲν κατὰ  
τὸν λιμένα τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τειχίσματι, καὶ τῶν <sup>20</sup>  
Τορωναίων γυναικας μὲν καὶ παιᾶς ἡνδραπόδισαν,  
αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ Πελοποννησίους καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλοις  
Χαλκιδέων ἦν, ξύμπαντας ἐς ἐπτακοσίους, ἀπέπεμ-

4 ψαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας· καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν Πελοποννήσιον ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς γενομέναις σπουδαῖς ἀπῆλθεν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἐκομίσθη ὑπὸ Ὀλυνθίων, ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς λυθείς. εἰλον δὲ καὶ Πάνακτον Ἀθηναίων ἐν μεθορίοις τεῖχος Βοιωτοὶ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον προδοσίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κλέων φυλακὴν καταστησάμενος τῆς Τορώνης ἄρας περιέπλει τὸν Ἀθων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν.

4 Φαίαξ δὲ ὁ Ἐρασιστράτου τρίτος αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίων πεμπόντων ναυσὶ δύο ἐς Ἰταλίαν Athenian embassy to Italy and Sicily. καὶ Σικελίαν πρεσβευτῆς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐξέπλευσεν. Λεοντῖνοι γάρ, ἀπελθόντων Ἀθηναίων ἐκ Σικελίας μετὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν, πολίτας τε ἐπεγράψαντο πολλοὺς καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὴν γῆν ἐπενόει ἀναδάσασθαι. οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ αἰσθόμενοι Συρακοσίους τε ἐπάγονται καὶ ἐκβάλλουσι τὸν δῆμον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπλανήθησαν ὡς ἔκαστοι, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ ὁμολογήσαντες Συρακοσίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες καὶ ἐρημώσαντες Συρακούσας ἐπὶ πολιτείᾳ φέκησαν. καὶ ὕστερον πάλιν αὐτῶν τίνες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι ἀπολιπόντες ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσᾶν Φωκαίας τε τῆς πόλεώς τι τῆς Λεοντίνων χωρίον καλούμενον καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ Βρικιννίας, ὃν ἔρυμα ἐν τῇ Λεοντίνῃ. καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου τότε ἐκπεσόντων οἱ πολλοὶ ἥλθον ὡς αὐτοὺς καὶ καταστάντες ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπολέμουν. ἀπινθανόμενοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Φαίακα πέμπουσιν, εἴ πως πείσαντες τοὺς σφίσιν ὅντας αὐτόθι ξυμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἦν δύνωνται, Σικελιώτας κοινῇ, ὡς Συρακοσίων δύναμιν περιποιουμένων

ἐπιστρατεῦσαι, διασώσειαν τὸν δῆμον τῶν Λεοντί-  
5 νων. ὁ δὲ Φαίαξ ἀφικόμενος τοὺς μὲν Καμαρι-  
ναίους πείθει καὶ Ἀκραγαντίνους, ἐν δὲ Γέλᾳ <sup>25</sup>  
ἀντιστάντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πράγματος οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τοὺς  
ἄλλους ἔρχεται, αἰσθόμενος οὐκ ἀν πείθειν αὐτούς,  
ἀλλ' ἀναχωρήσας διὰ τῶν Σικελῶν ἐς Κατάνην,  
καὶ ἅμα ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ καὶ ἐς τὰς Βρικιννὰς ἐλθὼν  
5 καὶ παραθαρσύνας, ἀπέπλει. ἐν δὲ τῇ παρακομιδῇ  
τῇ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀναχωρήσει καὶ ἐν τῇ  
Ἴταλίᾳ τισὶ πόλεσιν ἔχρημάτισε περὶ φιλίας τοῖς  
Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ Λοκρῶν ἐντυγχάνει τοῖς ἐκ Μεσ-  
σήνης ἐποίκοις ἐκπεπτωκόσιν, οἱ μετὰ τὴν Σικε-  
5 λιωτῶν ὁμολογίαν στασιασάντων Μεσσηνίων καὶ  
ἐπαγαγομένων τῶν ἑτέρων Λοκροὺς ἐποικοι ἔξεπέμ-  
φθησαν καὶ ἐγένετο Μεσσήνη Λοκρῶν τινὰ χρόνον.  
2 τούτοις οὖν ὁ Φαίαξ ἐντυχὼν<sup>1</sup> κομιζομένοις οὐκ  
ἡδίκησεν. ἐγεγένητο γὰρ τοῖς Λοκροῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν <sup>10</sup>  
ὁμολογία ξυμβάσεως πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.  
μόνοι γὰρ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅτε Σικελιώται ξυνηλ-  
λάσσοντο, οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο Ἀθηναίοις, οὐδὲ ἀν  
τότε, εἰ μὴ αὐτοὺς κατεῖχεν ὁ πρὸς Ἰτωνέας καὶ  
Μελαιίους πόλεμος, ὁμόρους τε ὄντας καὶ ἀποίκους. <sup>15</sup>  
καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαίαξ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας χρόνῳ ὕστερον  
ἀφίκετο.

6 ‘Ο δὲ Κλέων, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Τοράνης τότε περιέ-  
πλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, ὁρμώμενος  
Cleon advanced against Amphipolis. ἐκ τῆς Ἡιόνος Σταγείρῳ μὲν προσβάλλει  
‘Ανδρίων ἀποικίᾳ καὶ οὐχ εἶλεν, Γαληψὸν δὲ τὴν  
2 Θασίων ἀποικίαν λαμβάνει κατὰ κράτος. καὶ <sup>5</sup>  
πέμψας ὡς Περδίκκαν πρέσβεις, ὅπως παραγένοιτο

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς

στρατιὰ κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν, καὶ ἐς τὴν Θράκην  
 ἄλλους παρὰ Πολλῆν τὸν Ὀδομάντων βασιλέα,  
ἀξοντα μισθοῦ Θρᾷκας ὡς πλείστους, αὐτὸς ἡσύ-  
 χαζε περιμένων ἐν τῇ Ἡιόνι. Βρασίδας δὲ πυνθα- 10  
 νόμειος ταῦτα ἀντεκάθητο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ  
 Κερδυλίῳ· ἔστι δὲ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο Ἀργιλίων ἐπὶ<sup>15</sup>  
 μετεώρου πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχον τῆς  
 Ἀμφιπόλεως, καὶ κατεφαίνετο πάντα αὐτόθεν,  
 ὥστε οὐκ ἀν ἔλαθεν αὐτόθεν ὁρμώμενος ὁ Κλέων 20  
 τῷ στρατῷ· ὅπερ προσεδέχετο ποιήσειν αὐτόν,  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, ὑπεριδόντα σφῶν τὸ πλῆθος,  
 τῇ παρούσῃ στρατιᾷ ἀναβήσεσθαι. ἂμα δὲ καὶ 25  
 παρεσκευάζετο Θρᾷκας τε μισθωτοὺς πεντακοσίους  
 καὶ χιλίους καὶ τοὺς Ἡδωνας πάντας παρακαλῶν,  
 πελταστὰς καὶ ἵππεας· καὶ Μυρκινίων καὶ Χαλ-  
 κιδέων χιλίους πελταστὰς εἰχε πρὸς τοῖς ἐν Ἀμφι-  
 πόλει. τὸ δὲ ὑπλιτικὸν ξύμπαν ἡθροίσθη δισ-  
 χίλιοι μάλιστα καὶ ἵππης Ἑλληνες τριακόσιοι.  
 τούτων Βρασίδας μὲν ἔχων ἐπὶ Κερδυλίῳ ἐκάθητο 30  
 ἐς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐν Ἀμφι-  
 πόλει μετὰ Κλεαρίδου ἐτετάχατο. ὁ δὲ Κλέων  
 τέως μὲν ἡσύχαζεν, ἔπειτα ἤναγκάσθη  
 ποιῆσαι ὅπερ ὁ Βρασίδας προσεδέχετο. He takes up  
a position  
outside the  
walls.

τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν ὀχθομένων μὲν τῇ  
 ἔδρᾳ, ἀναλογιζομένων δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου ἡγεμονίαν,  
 πρὸς οἴαν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τόλμαν μετὰ οἴας ἀνεπισ-  
 τημοσύνης καὶ μαλακίας γενήσοιτο, καὶ οἴκοθεν ὡς  
 ἄκοντες αἵτῳ ξυνῆλθον, αἰσθόμενος τὸν θροῦν, καὶ  
 οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καθη- 40  
 μένους βαρύνεσθαι, ἀναλαβὼν ἥγεν. καὶ ἔχρήσατο 10

τῷ τρόπῳ ἄπειρ καὶ ἐς τὴν Πύλον εὐτυχήσας ἐπίστευσέ τι φρονεῖν· ἐς μάχην μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἥλπισέν οἱ ἐπεξιέναι οὐδένα, κατὰ θέαν δὲ μᾶλλον ἔφη ἀναβαίνειν τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ τὴν μείζω παρασκευὴν περιέμενεν, οὐχ ὡς τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, ἦν ἀναγ-<sup>15</sup> κάζηται, περισχήσων, ἀλλ’ ὡς κύκλῳ περιστὰς βίᾳ αἵρησων τὴν πόλιν. ἐλθών τε καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ πρὸ τῆς Ἀμφιπόλεως τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς ἐθεάτο τὸ λιμνῶδες τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τὴν θέσιν τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῇ Θράκῃ ὡς ἔχοι.<sup>20</sup> ἀπιέναι τε ἐνόμιζεν, ὅπόταν βούληται, ἀμαχεῖ· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἔφαίνετο οὕτ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὐδεὶς οὔτε κατὰ πύλας ἔξηει, κεκλημέναι τε ἡσαν πᾶσαι. ἀστε καὶ μηχανὰς ὅτι οὐ κατῆλθεν ἔχων, ἀμαρτεῖν ἐδόκει· ἐλεῖν γὰρ ἀν τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ ἐρῆμον.<sup>25</sup>

**B Brasidas enters Amphipolis and prepares to attack Cleon.** ὁ δὲ Βρασίδας εὐθὺς ὡς εἶδε κινουμένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καταβὰς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κερδυλίου ἐσέρχεται ἐς τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν. καὶ ἐπέξοδον μὲν καὶ ἀντίταξιν οὐκ ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, δεδιὼς τὴν αὐτοῦ παρασκευὴν καὶ νομίζων ὑποδεεστέρους εἶναι, οὐ τῷ πλήθει, ἀντίπαλα γάρ πως ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀξιώματι— τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ὅπερ ἐστράτευε καθαρὸν ἔξηλθε καὶ Λημνίων καὶ Ἰμβρίων τὸ κράτιστον—τέχνη δὲ παρεσκευάζετο ἐπιθησόμενος. εἰ γὰρ δείξειε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τό τε πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ὅπλισιν ἀναγκαίαν οὖσαν τῶν μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ, οὐκ ἀν ἥγεῖτο μᾶλλον περιγενέσθαι ἢ ἄνευ προόψεως τε αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅντος καταφρονήσεως. ἀπολεξάμενος οὖν αὐτὸς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὅπλίτας καὶ τοὺς<sup>10</sup>

ἄλλους Κλεαρίδᾳ προστάξας ἐβουλεύετο ἐπιχειρεῖν  
αἴφνιδίως, πρὶν ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἀν  
νομίζων αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως ἀπολαβεῖν αὐθις μεμονωμέ-  
νους, εἰ τύχοι ἐλθοῦσα αὐτοῖς η βοήθεια. ξυγκαλέ-  
σας δὲ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας καὶ βουλόμενος <sup>20</sup>  
παραθαρσῦναι τε καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν φράσαι ἔλεγε  
τοιάδε.

9     Ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, ἀπὸ μὲν οἵας χώρας  
ἡκομεν, ὅτι ἀεὶ διὰ τὸ εὑψυχον ἐλευθέρας, <sup>Speech of  
Brasidas to  
his men.</sup>  
καὶ ὅτι Δωριῆς μέλλετε <sup>1</sup>Ιωσι μάχεσθαι,  
ῶν εἰώθατε κρείσσους εἶναι, ἀρκείτω βραχέως δε-  
δηλωμένον· τὴν δὲ ἐπιχείρησιν φ τρόπῳ διανοοῦμαι <sup>2</sup>  
ποιεῖσθαι διδάξω, ἵνα μὴ τό τε κατ' ὄλιγον καὶ μὴ  
ὕπαντας κινδυνεύειν ἐνδεὲς φαινόμενον ἀτολμίαν  
<sup>3</sup> παράσχῃ. τοὺς γὰρ ἐναντίους εἰκάζω, καταφρονή-  
σει τε ιμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀν ἐλπίσαντας ώς ἀν ἐπεξέλ-  
θοι τις αὐτοῖς ἐς μάχην, ἀναβῆναι τε πρὸς τὸ <sup>10</sup>  
χωρίον καὶ νῦν ἀτάκτως κατὰ θέαν τετραμμένους  
ἢ ὀλιγωρεῖν. ὅστις δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀμαρτίας τῶν  
ἐναντίων κάλλιστα ἴδων καὶ ἂμα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ  
δύναμιν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖται μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
προφανοῦς μᾶλλον καὶ ἀντιπαραταχθέντος ἡ ἐκ <sup>15</sup>  
τοῦ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ξυμφέροντος, πλεῖστ’ ἀν  
ὅρθοῦτο· καὶ τὰ κλέμματα ταῦτα καλλίστην δόξαν  
ἔχει ἢ τὸν πολέμιον μᾶλιστ’ ἀν τις ἀπατήσας τοὺς  
<sup>4</sup> φίλους μέγιστ’ ἀν ὠφελήσειεν. ἔως οὖν ἔτι ἀπα-  
ράσκευοι θαρσοῦσι καὶ τοῦ ὑπαπιέναι πλέον ἡ <sup>20</sup>  
τοῦ μένοντος, ἐξ ὧν ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, τὴν διάνοιαν  
ἔχουσιν, ἐν τῷ ἀνειμένῳ αὐτῶν τῆς γυνώμης καὶ  
πρὶν ξυνταχθῆναι μᾶλλον τὴν δόξαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ᔹχων

τοὺς μετ' ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ φθάσας, ἦν δύνωμαι, προσ-  
5 πεσοῦμαι δρόμῳ κατὰ μέσον τὸ στράτευμα· σὺ <sup>25</sup>  
δέ, Κλεαρίδα, ὕστερον, ὅταν ἐμὲ ὄρᾶς ἥδη προσκεί-  
μενον καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς φοβοῦντα αὐτούς, τοὺς  
μετὰ σεαυτοῦ, τούς τ' Ἀμφιπολίτας καὶ τοὺς  
ἄλλους ἔνυμάχους ἄγων, αἴφνιδίως τὰς πύλας  
ἀνοίξας ἐπεκθεῖν καὶ ἐπείγεσθαι ώς τάχιστα ἔνυ-  
μιξαι. ἐλπὶς γὰρ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς οὕτω φοβηθῆ-  
ναι· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιὸν ὕστερον δεινότερον τοῖς πολεμίοις  
6 τοῦ παρόντος καὶ μαχομένου. καὶ αὐτός τε ἀνὴρ  
ἀγαθὸς γίγνουν, ὥσπερ σὲ εἰκὸς ὅντα Σπαρτιάτην,  
καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡς ἄνδρες ἔνυμμαχοι, ἀκολουθήσατε ἀν-  
35 δρείως, καὶ νομίσατε εἶναι τοῦ καλῶς πολεμεῖν τὸ  
ἐθέλειν καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι πεί-  
, θεσθαι, καὶ τῇδε ὑμῖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ ἀγαθοῖς γενο-  
μένοις ἐλευθερίαν τε ὑπάρχειν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων  
ἔνυμμάχοις κεκληθῆσθαι, ἡ Ἀθηναίων τε δούλοις, ἦν <sup>40</sup>  
τὰ ἄριστα ἀνευ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ἡ θανατώσεως  
πράξητε, καὶ δουλείαν χαλεπωτέραν ἡ πρὶν εἴχετε,  
τοὺς δὲ λοιποῖς "Ελλησι κωλυταῖς γενέσθαι ἐλευ-  
θερώσεως. ἀλλὰ μήτε ὑμεῖς μαλακισθῆτε, ὄραντες  
περὶ ὅσων ὁ ἄγων ἐστιν, ἐγώ τε δείξω οὐ παραι-  
νέσαι οἵος τε ὁν μᾶλλον τοῖς πέλας ἡ καὶ αὐτὸς  
ἔργῳ ἐπεξελθεῖν.

10      'Ο μὲν Βρασίδας τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν τῇν τε ἔξοδον

Battle of  
Amphipolis.  
Defeat of the  
Athenians.  
Death of  
BRASIDAS  
and CLEON.

παρεσκευάζετο αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
μετὰ τοῦ Κλεαρίδα καθίστη ἐπὶ τὰς Θρα-  
κίας καλουμένας τῶν πυλῶν, ὅπως ὥσπερ  
εἴρητο ἐπεξίοιεν. τῷ δὲ Κλέωνι, φανε-  
5 ροῦ γενομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κερδυλίου καταβάν-

τος καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐπιφανεῖ οὕση ἔξωθεν, περὶ τὸ  
ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς θυομένου καὶ ταῦτα πράσσοντος,  
ἀγγέλλεται, προύκεχωρήκει γὰρ τότε κατὰ τὴν  
θέαν, ὅτι ἡ τε στρατιὰ ἄπασα φανερὰ τῶν πολε-<sup>10</sup>  
μίων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς πύλας ἵππων τε  
πόδες πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἔξιόντων ὑποφαί-<sup>15</sup>  
ζονται. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐπῆλθεν καὶ ὡς εἶδεν, οὐ  
βουλόμενος μάχῃ διαγωνίσασθαι πρίν οἱ καὶ τοὺς  
βοηθοὺς ἥκειν, καὶ οἰόμενος φθήσεσθαι ἀπελθών,<sup>20</sup>  
σημαίνειν τε ἄμα ἐκέλευεν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ παρήγ-  
γειλε τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, ὥσπερ  
μόνον οἶόν τ' ἦν, ὑπάγειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡιόνος. ὡς δ'  
αὐτῷ ἐδόκει<sup>1</sup> σχολὴ γίγνεσθαι, αὐτὸς ἐπιστρέψας  
τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ τὰ γυμνὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δοὺς<sup>25</sup>  
ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν. κάν τούτῳ Βρασίδας, ὡς ὁρᾷ  
τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων κινού-  
μενον, λέγει τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις,<sup>30</sup>  
ὅτι οἱ ἄνδρες ἡμᾶς οὐ μένουσι, δῆλοι δὲ τῶν τε  
δοράτων τῇ κινήσει καὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν· οἵς γὰρ<sup>25</sup>  
ἄν τοῦτο γίγνηται οὐκ εἰώθασι μένειν τοὺς ἐπόν-  
τας. ἀλλὰ τάς τε πύλας τις ἀνοιγέτω ἐμοὶ ἂς  
εἴρηται καὶ ἐπεξίωμεν ὡς τάχιστα θαρσοῦντες.<sup>35</sup>  
καὶ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρωμα πύλας καὶ  
τὰς πρώτας τοῦ μακροῦ τείχους τότε ὅντος ἔξελθὼν<sup>30</sup>  
ἔθει δρόμῳ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην εὐθεῖαν ἥπερ νῦν κατὰ  
τὸ καρτερώτατον τοῦ χωρίου ἴόντι τροπαῖον ἔστη-  
κεν, καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, πεφοβημένοις  
τε ἄμα τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀταξίᾳ καὶ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ  
ἐκπεπληγμένοις, κατὰ μέσον τὸ στράτευμα τρέπει.<sup>35</sup>  
καὶ ὁ Κλεαρίδας, ὥσπερ εἴρητο, ἄμα κατὰ τὰς

<sup>1</sup> σχολῆ

Θρακίας πύλας ἐπεξελθὼν τῷ στρατῷ ἐπεφέρετο. ξυνέβη τε τῷ ἀδοκήτῳ καὶ ἐξαπίνης ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους θορυβηθῆναι, καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας αὐτῶν, τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἡιόνα, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ προκεχωρήκει, εὐθὺς ἀπορραγὴν ἔφυγεν· καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας ὑποχωροῦντος ἥδη αὐτοῦ ἐπιπαριὼν τῷ δεξιῷ τιτρώσκεται, καὶ πεσόντα αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ αἰσθάνονται, οἱ δὲ πλησίον ἄραντες ἀπήνεγκαν. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔμενε μᾶλλον, καὶ ὁ μὲν Κλέων, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον οὐ διενοεῖτο μένειν, εὐθὺς φεύγων καὶ καταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μυρκινίου πελταστοῦ ἀποθυήσκει, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ ξυστραφέντες ὄπλιται ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον τόντε Κλεαρίδαν ἡμύνοντο καὶ δὶς ἡ τρὶς προσβαλόντα, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν πρὶν ἡ τε Μυρκινία καὶ ἡ Χαλκιδικὴ ἵππος καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ περιστάντες καὶ ἐσακοντίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἔτρεψαν. οὕτω δὲ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἥδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων φυγὸν χαλεπῶς καὶ πολλὰς ὁδοὺς τραπόμενοι κατὰ ὅρη, ὅσοι μὴ διεφθάρησαν ἡ αὐτίκα ἐν χερσὶν ἡ ὑπὸ τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς ἵππου καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν, οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἐς τὴν Ἡιόνα. οἱ δὲ τὸν Βρασίδαν ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ διασώσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔτι ἔμπνουν ἐσεκόμισαν· καὶ ἥσθετο μὲν ὅτι νικῶσιν οἱ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐ πολὺ δὲ διαλιπὼν ἐτελεύτησεν. καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ ἀναχωρήσασα μετὰ τοῦ Κλεαρίδου ἐκ τῆς διώξεως νεκρούς τε ἐσκύλευσε καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστησεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Βρασίδαν οἱ ξύμμαχοι πάντες ξὺν ὕπλοις ἐπισπόμενοι δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸ τῆς

νῦν ἀγορᾶς οὕσης· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ Ἀμφιπολῖται,  
περιέρξαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μνημεῖον, ώς ἥρω̄  
τε ἐντέμιουσι καὶ τιμὰς δεδώκασιν  
ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίους θυσίας, καὶ τὴν Burial of  
Brasidas.  
The defeated  
Athenians  
return home. 5

ἀποικίαν ως οἰκιστῆ προσέθεσαν, καταβαλόντες τὰ  
Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἀφανίσαντες εἴ τι  
μνημόσυνόν που ἔμελλεν αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίσεως περιέ- 10  
σεσθαι, νομίσαντες τὸν μὲν Βρασίδαν σωτῆρά τε  
σφῶν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἅμα τὴν τῶν  
Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμαχίαν φόβῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
θεραπεύοντες, τὸν δὲ "Ἀγνωνα κατὰ τὸ πολέμιον  
τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἀν ὁμοίως σφίσι ξυμφίρως οὐδ' 15  
ἀν ἡδέως τὰς τιμὰς ἔχειν. καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῖς  
Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέδοσαν. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν  
περὶ ἔξακοσίους, τῶν δ' ἐναντίων ἑπτά, διὰ τὸ μὴ  
ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀπὸ δὲ τοιαύτης ξυντυχίας καὶ  
προεκφοβήσεως τὴν μάχην μᾶλλον γενέσθαι. 20  
μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν οἱ μὲν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπέπλευσαν,  
οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κλεαρίδου τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν  
καθίσταντο.

12 Καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τελευ-  
τῶντος Ῥαμφίας καὶ Αὐτοχαρίδας καὶ  
Ἐπικυδίδας Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Reinforce-  
ments sent  
out to Bras-  
idas. 5  
Θράκης χωρία βοήθειαν ἦγον ἐνακοσίων  
ὅπλιτῶν, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Ἡράκλειαν τὴν ἐν  
Τραχίνῃ καθίσταντο ὃ τι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει μὴ καλῶς  
ἔχειν. ἐνδιατριβόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔτυχεν ἡ μάχη  
αὐτῇ γενομένη, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

13 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγυγνομένου χειμῶνος εὐθὺς μέχρι μὲν  
Πιερίου τῆς Θεσσαλίας διῆλθον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ῥαμ-

φίαν, κωλυόντων δὲ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ ἄμα  
They return Βρασίδου τεθνεῶτος, ἀπέρ ἥγον τὴν στρα-  
to Sparta. τιάν, ἀπετράποντο ἐπ' οἴκου, νομίσαντες

οὐδένα καιρὸν εἶναι ἔτι, τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων ἡσση  
ἀπεληλυθότων καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεων αὐτῶν ὅντων  
δρᾶν τι ὡν κάκεῦνος ἐπενόει. μάλιστα δὲ ἀπῆλθον  
εἰδότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅτε ἔξησαν, πρὸς τὴν

14 εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντας. ξυνέβη τε

Reasons why εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει μάχην καὶ  
both sides are disposed to τὴν Ραμφίου ἀναχώρησιν ἐκ Θεσσα-  
peace. λίας, ὥστε πολέμου μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι ἄψασ-  
θαι μηδετέρους, πρὸς δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν

γνώμην είχον, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι πληγέντες ἐπὶ τῷ  
Δηλίῳ καὶ δι' ὀλίγου αἰθις ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, καὶ  
οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ῥώμης πιστὴν ἔτι,  
ἥπερ οὐ προσεδέχοντο πρότερον τὰς σπουδάς,  
δοκοῦντες τῇ παρούσῃ εὐτυχίᾳ καθυπέρτεροι γενῆ-  
σεσθαι· καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἂμα ἐδεδίεσαν σφῶν,  
μὴ διὰ τὰ σφάλματα ἐπαιρόμενοι ἐπὶ πλέον ἀποσ-  
τῶσιν, μετεμέλοντό τε ὅτι μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πύλῳ καλῶς  
παρασχὸν οὐ ξυνέβησαν· οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
παρὰ γνώμην μὲν ἀποβαίνοντος σφίσι τοῦ πολέ-  
μου, ἐν φῶντο ὀλίγων ἐτῶν καθαιρήσειν τὴν τῶν  
Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν, εἰ τὴν γῆν τέμνοιεν, περιπε-  
σόντες δὲ τῇ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ξυμφορᾷ, οἷα οὕπω  
γεγένητο τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ληστευομένης τῆς χώρας  
ἐκ τῆς Πύλου καὶ Κυθήρων, αὐτομολούντων τε τῶν  
Εἰλώτων, καὶ ἀεὶ προσδοκίας οὔσης μή τι καὶ οἱ  
ὑπομένοντες τοῖς ἔξω πίσυνοι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα  
ζ σφίσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, νεωτερίσωσιν. ξυνέ-

βαίνε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους αὐτοῖς τὰς τριακονταέτεις σπουδὰς ἐπ' ἔξοδῳ εἶναι, καὶ ἄλλας 25  
οἵκ τηθελον σπένδεσθαι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς  
τὴν Κυνοσουρίαν γῆν ἀποδώσει. ὥστ' ἀδύνατα  
εἶναι ἐφαίνετο Ἀργείοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἂμα πολεμεῖν. τῶν τε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων ὑπώπτευόν  
τινας ἀποστήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους· ὅπερ καὶ 30  
15 ἐγένετο. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς λογιζομένοις  
ἐδόκει ποιητέα εἶναι ἡ ξύμβασις, καὶ  
οὐχ ἡσσον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιθυμίᾳ  
τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κομίσασθαι· ἡσαν γὰρ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται αὐτῶν  
πρῶτοι τε καὶ ὄμοιώς σφίσι ξυγγενεῖς.  
2 ἦρξαντο μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν αἱ τῶν  
πράσσειν, ἀλλ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐπως ἡθελον εὐ<sup>5</sup>  
φερόμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἵσῃ καταλύεσθαι. σφαλέντων  
δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Δηλίῳ παραχρῆμα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,  
γνόντες νῦν μᾶλλον ἀν δεξαμένους, ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκεχειρίαν, ἐν ἡ ἔδει ξυνιόντας καὶ  
16 περὶ τοῦ πλείονος χρόνου βουλεύεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἡσσα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις  
ἐγεγένητο καὶ ἐτεθνήκει Κλέων τε καὶ  
Βρασίδας, οἵπερ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μάλιστα  
ἡναυτιοῦντο τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ὁ μὲν διὰ τὸ εὔτυ-<sup>5</sup>  
χεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ὁ δὲ γενομένης ἡσυχίας καταφανέστερος νομίζων ἀν εἶναι  
2 κακουργῶν καὶ ἀπιστότερος διαβάλλων, τότε δὲ οἱ  
ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ τῇ πόλει σπεύδοντες τὰ μάλιστα τὴν  
ἡγεμονίαν, Πλειστοάναξ τε ὁ Παυσανίου βασιλεὺς 10  
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου, πλεῖστα

The Lacedae-monians were especially de-sirous of re-covering their prison-ers captured at Pylos.

Pleistoanax and Nicias, who are now the leading men in Sparta and Athens, are anxious for peace.

τῶν τότε εὑ φερόμενος ἐν στρατηγίαις, πολλῷ δὴ  
 3 μᾶλλον προεθυμοῦντο Νικίας μὲν βουλόμενος  
 ἐν φάσιαθῆς ἦν καὶ ἡξιοῦτο διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐ-  
 τυχίαν, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ αὐτίκα πόνων πεπαῦσθαι καὶ 15  
 αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας παῦσαι, καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι  
 χρόνῳ καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα ὡς οὐδὲν σφήλας τὴν  
 πόλιν διεγένετο, νομίζων ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου τοῦτο  
 ξυμβαίνειν καὶ ὅστις ἐλάχιστα τύχῃ αὐτὸν παρα-  
 δίδωσι, τὸ δὲ ἀκίνδυνον τὴν εἰρήνην παρέχειν.<sup>20</sup>

4 Πλειστοάναξ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαβαλλόμενος  
 περὶ τῆς καθόδου καὶ ἔς ἐνθυμίαν τοὺς Λακεδαι-  
 μονίοις ἀεὶ προβαλλόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, δόπτε τι  
 ππαίσειαν, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου κάθοδον παρανομη-  
 5 θεῖσαν ταῦτα ξυμβαίνοι. τὴν γὰρ πρίμαντιν τὴν 25  
 ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπητιῶντο αὐτὸν πεῖσαι μετ' Ἀριστο-  
 κλέους τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὥστε χρῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις  
 ἐπὶ πολὺ τάδε θεωροῖς ἀφικνουμένοις, Διὸς νιοῦ  
 ἡμιθέου τὸ σπέρμα ἐκ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν  
 ἀναφέρειν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀργυρέᾳ εὐλάκᾳ εὐλάξειν.<sup>30</sup>

6 χρόνῳ δὲ προτρέψαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φεύγοντα  
 αὐτὸν ἐς Λύκαιον διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ποτε  
 μετὰ δώρων δοκοῦσαν ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ ἥμισυ τῆς  
 οἰκίας τοῦ ἱεροῦ τότε τοῦ Διὸς οἰκοῦντα φοβῷ τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔτει ἐνδὸς δέοντι εἰκοστῷ τοῖς ὅμοι-<sup>35</sup>  
 οις χοροῖς καὶ θυσίαις καταγαγεῖν, ὥσπερ ὅτε τὸ  
 πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονικά κτίζοντες τοὺς βασιλέας  
 17 καθίσταντο. ἀχθόμενος οὖν τῇ διαβολῇ ταύτῃ καὶ  
 νομίζων ἐν εἰρήνῃ μέν, οὐδενὸς σφάλματος  
 γιγνομένου καὶ ἅμα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
 τοὺς ἄνδρας κομιζομένων, καν αὐτὸς τοῖς

ἐχθροῖς ἀνεπίληπτος εἶναι, πολέμου δὲ καθεστῶτος 5  
 ἀεὶ ἀνάγκην εἶναι τοὺς προῦχοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμ-  
 φορῶν διαβάλλεσθαι, προύθυμήθη τὴν ξύμβασιν.  
 καὶ τόν τε χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἦσαν ἐς λόγους καὶ  
 πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἥδη παρασκευή τε προεπανεσείσθη  
 ἀπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων περιαγγελλομένη κατὰ 10  
 πόλεις ώς ἐπὶ τειχισμόν, ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μᾶλλον  
 ἐστακούοιεν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῶν ξυνόδων ἄμα πολλὰς  
 δικαιώσεις προενεγκόντων ἀλλήλοις ξυνεχωρεῖτο  
 ὥστε ἀ ἐκάτεροι πολέμῳ ἔσχον ἀποδόντας τὴν  
 εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, Νίσαιαν δὲ ἔχειν Ἀθηναίους— 15  
 ἀνταπαιτούντων γὰρ Πλάταιαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἔφασαν  
 οὐ βίᾳ ἀλλ’ ὁμολογίᾳ, αὐτῶν προσχωρησάντων  
 καὶ οὐ προδόντων, ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ τὴν Νίσαιαν—τότε δὴ παρακαλέ-  
 σαντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ξυμμάχους οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι 20  
 καὶ ψηφισαμένων πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων  
 καὶ Ἡλείων καὶ Μεγαρέων τῶν ἄλλων ἦστε κατα-  
 λύεσθαι, τούτοις δὲ οὐκ ἥρεσκε τὰ πρασσόμενα,  
 ποιοῦνται τὴν ξύμβασιν καὶ ἐσπείσαντο πρὸς τοὺς  
 Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὅμοσαν, ἐκεῖνοί τε πρὸς τοὺς Λακε- 25  
 δαιμονίους, τάδε.

18 Σπονδὰς ἐποίήσαντο Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμό-  
 νιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι κατὰ τάδε, καὶ Terms and  
 ὅμοσαν κατὰ πόλεις. περὶ μὲν τῶν conditions of  
 ἱερῶν τῶν κοινῶν, θύειν καὶ ἵέναι καὶ the fifty  
 μαντεύεσθαι καὶ θεωρεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὸν βου- 5  
 λόμενον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀδεῶς.  
 τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν νεών τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνος καὶ Δελφοὺς αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ αὐτο-

τελεῖς καὶ αὐτοδίκους καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς  
 • ἑαυτῶν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ἔτη δὲ εἶναι τὰς σπουδὰς <sup>10</sup>  
 πεντήκοντα Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τοῖς  
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις  
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀδόλους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ  
 κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἔξεστω  
 ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ πημονῇ μήτε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ <sup>15</sup>  
 τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπ’ Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους  
 μήτε Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μήτε τέχνῃ μήτε  
 μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾷ. ἦν δέ τι διάφορον ἢ πρὸς ἀλλή-  
 λους, δικαίῳ χρήσθων καὶ ὄρκοις καθ’ ὅ τι ἀν <sup>20</sup> ξυν-  
 θῶνται. ἀποδόντων δὲ Ἀθηναίοις Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι Ἀμφίπολιν. ὅσας δὲ πόλεις  
 παρέδοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀθηναίοις, ἔξεστω ἀπιέ-  
 ναι ὅποι ἀν βούλωνται αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν  
 ἔχοντας. τὰς δὲ πόλεις φερούσας τὸν φόρον τὸν <sup>25</sup>  
 ἐπ’ Ἀριστείδου αὐτονόμους εἶναι. ὅπλα δὲ μὴ  
 ἔξεστω ἐπιφέρειν Ἀθηναίους μηδὲ τοὺς ξυμμά-  
 χους ἐπὶ κακῷ, ἀποδιδόντων τὸν φόρον, ἐπειδὴ αἱ  
 σπουδὰὶ ἐγένοντο. εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀργιλος, Στάγειρος,  
<sup>5</sup> Ἀκανθος, Σκῦλος, Ολυνθος, Σπάρτωλος. ξυμμά- <sup>30</sup>  
 χους δ’ εἶναι μηδετέρων, μήτε Λακεδαιμονίων μήτε  
 Ἀθηναίων. ἦν δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πείθωσι τὰς πόλεις,  
 βουλομένας ταύτας ἔξεστω ξυμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι  
αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις. Μηκυθερναίους δὲ καὶ Σα-  
 ναίους καὶ Σιγγαίους οἴκειν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν, <sup>35</sup>  
 καθάπερ Ολύνθιοι καὶ Ἀκάνθιοι. ἀποδόντων δὲ  
 Ἀθηναίοις Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι Πάνακ-  
 τον. ἀποδόντων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Λακεδαιμονίοις

Κορυφάσιον καὶ Κύθηρα καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Πτελεὸν  
 καὶ Ἀταλάντην καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὅσοι εἰσὶ Λακε-<sup>40</sup>  
 δαιμονίων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἡ ἄλλοθι  
 που ὅσης Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν ἐν δημοσίῳ· καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐν Σκιώνη πολιορκουμένους Πελοποννησίων  
 ἀφεῖναι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι Λακεδαιμονίων ξύμ-  
 μαχοι ἐν Σκιώνῃ εἰσὶ καὶ ὅσους Βρατίδας ἐσέπεμ-<sup>45</sup>  
 ψεν καὶ εἴ τις τῶν ξυμμάχων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
 ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἡ ἄλλοθι που ἵς  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν ἐν δημοσίῳ. ἀποδόντων δὲ  
 καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι οὖστινας ἔχου-  
 σιν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων κατὰ ταῦτα.<sup>50</sup>

Σκιωναίων δὲ καὶ Τορωναίων καὶ Σερμυλίων καὶ εἴ  
 τινα ἄλλην πόλιν ἔχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀθηναίους  
 βουλεύεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων  
 ὃ τι ἀν δοκῆ αὐτοῖς. ὄρκους δὲ ποιήσασθαι Ἀθη-<sup>55</sup>  
 ναίους πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους  
 κατὰ πόλεις. ὅμνύντων δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ὄρκον  
 ἑκάτεροι τὸν μέγιστον ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως. ὁ δ'  
 ὄρκος ἔστω ὅδε· ἐμμενῶ ταῖς ξυνθήκαις καὶ ταῖς  
 σπουδαῖς ταῖσδε δικαίως καὶ ἀδόλως. ἔστω δὲ  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις κατὰ ταῦτα<sup>60</sup>  
 ὄρκος πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, τὸν δὲ ὄρκον ἀνανεοῦσθαι  
 κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀμφοτέρους. στήλας δὲ στήσαι  
 Ολυμπίασι καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἀθή-  
 ναις ἐν πόλει καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίω.  
 εἴ δέ τι ἀμνημονοῦσιν ὅποτεροιοῦν καὶ ὅτου πέρι,<sup>65</sup>  
 λόγοις δικαίοις χρωμένοις εὔορκον εἶναι ἀμφοτέροις  
 ταύτη μεταθεῖναι ὅπῃ ἀν δοκῆ ἀμφοτέροις, Ἀθη-  
 ναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις.

19     <sup>Names of the contracting parties.</sup> Ἀρχει δὲ τῶν σπουδῶν ἔφορος Πλειστόλας,  
 Ἀρτεμισίου μηνὸς τετάρτη φθίνοντος, ἐν  
 δὲ Ἀθήναις ἄρχων Ἀλκαῖος, Ἐλαφη-  
 βολιώνος μηνὸς ἕκτη φθίνοντος· ὥμνυον δὲ οἵδε  
 καὶ ἐσπένδοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Πλειστοάναξ,  
 Ἀγις, Πλειστόλας, Δαμάγητος, Χίονις, Μεταγένης,  
 Ἀκανθος, Δάιθος, Ἰσχαγόρας, Φιλοχαρίδας, Ζευ-  
 ξίδας, Ἀντιππος, Τέλλις, Ἀλκινίδας, Ἐμπεδίας,  
 Μηνᾶς, Λάφιλος· Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἵδε, Λάμπων,  
 Ἰσθμιόνικος, Νικίας, Λάχης, Εὐθύδημος, Προκλῆς,  
 Πυθόδωρος, Ἀγνων, Μυρτίλος, Θρασυκλῆς, Θεα-  
 γένης, Ἀριστοκράτης, Ἰώλκιος, Τιμοκράτης, Λέων,  
 Λάμαχος, Δημοσθένης.

20     Αὗται αἱ σπουδαὶ ἐγένοντο τελευτῶντος τοῦ  
 Duration of the first period of the war. χειμῶνος ἅμα ἡρι ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθὺς τῶν  
 ἀστικῶν, αὐτόδεκα ἐτῶν διελθόντων καὶ  
 ἡμερῶν δλίγων παρενεγκουσῶν, ἡ ὡς τὸ  
 πρῶτον ἡ ἐσβολὴ ἡ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ<sup>5</sup>  
 τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐγένετο. σκοπείτω δέ τις κατὰ  
 τοὺς χρόνους καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ ἡ ἀρχόντων ἡ  
 ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινὸς τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς  
 τὰ προγεγενημένα σημαινόντων πιστεύσας μᾶλλον.  
 οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβές ἐστιν, οἷς καὶ ἀρχομένοις καὶ<sup>10</sup>  
 μεσοῦσι καὶ ὅπως ἔτυχε τῷ ἐπεγένετό τι. κατὰ  
 θέρη δὲ καὶ χειμῶνας ἀριθμῶν, ὥσπερ γέγραπται,  
 εὐρήσει, ἐξ ἡμισείας ἐκατέρου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν  
 δύναμιν ἔχοντος, δέκα μὲν θέρη ἵσους δὲ χειμῶνας  
 τῷ πρώτῳ πολέμῳ τῷδε γεγενημένους.

21     Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ἔλαχον γὰρ πρότεροι ἀποδι-  
 δόναι ἀ εἶχον, τοὺς τε ἄνδρας εὐθὺς τοὺς παρὰ

σφίσιν αἰχμαλώτους ἀφίεσαν καὶ πέμψαντες ἐς  
τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης πρέσβεις Ἰσχαγόραν  
καὶ Μηνᾶν καὶ Φιλοχαρίδαν ἐκέλευνον τὸν  
Κλεαρίδαν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν παραδιδόναι  
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὰς σπου-  
δάς, ὡς εἴρητο ἐκάστοις, δέχεσθαι. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἥθελον,  
2 νομίζοντες οὐκ ἐπιτηδείας εἶναι· οὐδὲ ὁ Κλεαρίδας  
παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν, χαριζόμενος τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦ-  
σιν, λέγων ὡς οὐ δυνατὸς εἴη βίᾳ ἐκείνων παρα-  
διδόναι. ἐλθὼν δὲ αὐτὸς κατὰ τάχος μετὰ πρέσβεων  
αὐτόθεν ἀπολογησόμενίς τε ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν,  
ἥν κατηγορῶσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσχαγόραν ὅτι οὐκ  
ἐπείθετο, καὶ ἂμα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἰ ἔτι μετα-  
κινητὴ εἴη ἡ ὁμολογία, ἐπειδὴ εὑρε κατειλημένας,  
αὐτὸς μὲν πάλιν πεμπόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
καὶ κελευόντων μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τὸ χωρίον παρα-  
δοῦναι, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅπόσοι Πελοποννησίων ἔνεισιν  
22 ἔξαγαγεῖν, κατὰ τάχος ἐπορεύετο. οἱ δὲ ξύμμαχοι  
ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ <sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον ὄντες  
καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὴ δεξαμένους τὰς σπου-  
δὰς ἐκέλευνον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιεῖσθαι.  
οἱ δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ προφάσει, ἥπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον  
ἀπεώσαντο, οὐκ ἔφασαν δεξασθαι, ἦν μή τινας δι-  
2 καιοτέρας τούτων ποιῶνται. ὡς δ' αὐτῶν οὐκ  
ἐσήκουον, ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπέπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς  
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξύμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, νομίζοντες  
ἥκιστα ἀν σφίσι τούς τε Ἀργείους, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ  
ἥθελον Ἀμπελίδου καὶ Λίχου ἐλθόντων ἐπισπέν-  
δεσθαι, νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων οὐ δει-  
νοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον μάλιστ'  
<sup>1</sup> αὐτοὶ

The Lacedae-  
monian allies  
disapprove of  
the treaty.  
Clearidas  
still holds  
Amphipolis.

The Lacedae-  
monians con-  
clude a sepa-  
rate alliance  
with Athens.

ἀν ἡσυχάζειν· πρὸς γὰρ ἀν τοὺς<sup>1</sup> Αθηναίους, εἰ ἐξῆν, χωρέειν. παρόντων οὖν πρέσβεων ἀπὸ τῶν<sup>15</sup> Αθηναίων καὶ γενομένων λόγων ξυνέβησαν, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὄρκοι καὶ ξυμμαχία ἥδε.

**23** Κατὰ τάδε ξύμμαχοι ἔσονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 Terms and  
 conditions of  
 alliance for  
 fifty years.  
 πεντήκοντα ἔτη. ἦν δέ τινες Ἰωσιν ἐς  
 τὴν γῆν πολέμιοι τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ  
 κακῶς ποιῶσι Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥφελεῖν  
 Αθηναίους Λακεδαιμονίους τρόπῳ ὅποιώ ἀν δύνων-<sup>5</sup>  
 ται ἰσχυροτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ἦν δὲ δηώσαντες  
 οἴχωνται, πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις καὶ Αθηναίοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπὸ<sup>10</sup>  
 ἀμφοτέρων, καταλύειν δὲ ἄμα ἄμφω τῷ πόλεε.  
 ταῦτα δ' εἶναι δικαίως καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἀδόλως.<sup>15</sup>  
 καὶ ἦν τινες ἐς τὴν Αθηναίων γῆν Ἰωσι πολέμιοι  
 καὶ κακῶς ποιῶσιν, Αθηναίους ὥφελεῖν Λακεδαιμο-<sup>20</sup>  
 νίους τρίπῳ ὅτῳ ἀν δύνωνται ἰσχυροτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ  
 δυνατόν· ἦν δὲ δηώσαντες οἴχωνται, πολεμίαν εἶναι  
 ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Αθηναίοις<sup>25</sup>  
 καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων, καταλύειν δὲ  
 ἄμα ἄμφω τῷ πόλεε. ταῦτα δ' εἶναι δικαίως καὶ  
 προθύμως καὶ ἀδόλως. ἦν δὲ ἡ δουλεία ἐπανιστῆ-<sup>30</sup>  
 ται, ἐπικουρεῖν Αθηναίους Λακεδαιμονίοις παντὶ<sup>35</sup>  
 σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ὁμοῦνται δὲ ταῦτα οὕπερ  
 καὶ τὰς ἄλλας σπουδὰς ὕμνυον ἐκατέρων. ἀνα-  
 νεοῦσθαι δὲ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν  
 ιόντας ἐς Αθήνας πρὸς τὰ Διονύσια, Αθηναίους  
 δὲ ιόντας ἐς Λακεδαιμονα πρὸς τὰ Τακίνθια.<sup>40</sup>  
 στήλην δὲ ἐκατέρους στῆσαι τὴν μὲν ἐν Λακεδα-<sup>45</sup>  
 μονι παρ' Απόλλωνι ἐν Αμυκλαίῳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν

<sup>1</sup> Ἀργείους?

Αθήναις ἐν πόλει παρ' Ἀθηνᾶς ἡν δέ τι δοκῆ  
Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις προσθεῖναι καὶ  
ἀφελεῖν περὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας, ὃ τι ἀν δοκῆ, εὔορκον  
ἀμφοτέροις είναι.

24 Τὸν δὲ ὄρκον ὥμνυνον Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οἵδε,  
Πλειστοάναξ, Ἀγις, Πλειστόλας, Δαμά-  
γητος, Χίονις, Μεταγένης, Ἀκανθος,  
Δάιθος, Ἰσχαγόρας, Φιλοχαρίδας, Ζευ-  
ξίδας, Ἀντιππος, Ἀλκινάδας, Τέλλις,  
Ἐμπεδίας, Μηνᾶς, Λάφιλος· Ἀθηναίων  
δὲ Λάμπων, Ἰσθμιόνικος, Λάχης, Νικίας, Εὐθύδη-  
μος, Προκλῆς, Πυθόδωρος, Ἀγνων, Μυρτίλος,  
Θρασυκλῆς, Θεαγένης, Ἀριστοκράτης, Ἰώλκιος,  
Τιμοκράτης, Λέων, Λάμαχος, Δημοσθένης.  
Names of the  
contracting  
parties. The  
Athenians  
restore the  
Lacedaemonian  
prisoners.  
5

2 Αὕτη ἡ ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ  
πολλῷ ἵστερον, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου  
ἀπέδοσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ τὸ  
θέρος ἦρχε τοῦ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτους. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ  
δέκα ἔτη ὁ πρῶτος πόλεμος ξυνεχῶς γενόμενος  
γέγυραπται.  
10

25 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν τῶν  
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αἱ  
ἐγένοντο μετὰ τὸν δεκαετῆ πόλεμον ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
Πλειστόλα μὲν ἐν Λακεδαιμονι ἐφόρου,  
Ἀλκαίου δὲ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, τοῖς μὲν  
δεξαμένοις αὐτὰς εἰρήνη ἦν· οἱ δὲ Κορίν-  
θιοι καὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεών τινες διεκί-  
νουν τὰ πεπραγμένα, καὶ εὐθὺς ἄλλη ταραχὴ  
καθίστατο τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς τὴν Λακεδαιμονα.  
καὶ ἅμα καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
10

Fresh dis-  
turbances are  
threatened;  
and suspi-  
cions arise  
between  
Athens and  
Sparta.  
5

προιόντος τοῦ χρόνου ὑποπτοι ἐγένοντο, ἔστιν ἐν  
 3 οἷς οὐ ποιοῦντες ἐκ τῶν ξυγκειμένων ἀ εἴρητο. καὶ  
 ἐπὶ ἔξ ἔτη μὲν καὶ δέκα μῆνας ἀπέσχοντο μὴ ἐπὶ<sup>15</sup>  
 τὴν ἑκατέρων γῆν στρατεῦσαι, ἔξωθεν δὲ μετ' ἀνα-  
 κωχῆς οὐ βεβαίου ἔβλαπτον ἀλλήλους τὰ μάλιστα·  
 ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ ἀναγκασθέντες λῦσαι τὰς μετὰ  
 τὰ δέκα ἔτη σπουδὰς αὐθις ἐς πόλεμον φανερὸν  
 26 κατέστησαν.

In fact the  
war never  
really ceased.  
Opportuni-  
ties of infor-  
mation pos-  
sessed by  
Thucydides.

γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θου-  
 κυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ἔξῆς, ως ἔκαστα ἐγέ-  
 νετο, κατὰ θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας, μέχρι οὗ  
 τὴν τε ἀρχὴν κατέπαυσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ τὰ 5  
 μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέλαβον.

2 ἔτη δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὰ ξύμπαντα ἐγένετο τῷ πολέμῳ  
 ἐπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ τὴν διὰ μέσου ξύμβασιν εἴ-  
 τις μὴ ἀξιώσει πόλεμον νομίζειν, οὐκ ὄρθως δικαιώ-  
 σει. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἔργοις ως διήρηται ἀθρείτω καὶ<sup>10</sup>  
 εύρήσει οὐκ εἰκὸς ὃν εἰρήνην αὐτὴν κριθῆναι, ἐν ᾧ  
 οὕτε ἀπέδοσαν πάντα οὔτ' ἀπεδέξαντο ἀ ξυνέθεντο,  
 3 ἔξω τε τούτων πρὸς τὸν Μαντινικὸν καὶ Ἐπιδαύ-  
 ριον πόλεμον καὶ ἐς ἄλλα ἀμφοτέροις ἀμαρτήματα  
 ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης ξύμμαχοι οὐδὲν ἡσσον<sup>15</sup>  
 πολέμιοι ἦσαν, Βοιωτοί τε ἐκεχειρίαν δεχήμερον  
 ἥγον. ὥστε ξὺν τῷ πρώτῳ πολέμῳ τῷ δεκαετεῖ  
 καὶ τῇ μετ' αὐτὸν ὑπόπτῳ ἀνακωχῇ καὶ τῷ ὕστε-  
 ρον ἔξ αὐτῆς πολέμῳ εύρήσει τις τοσαῦτα ἔτη,  
 λογιζόμενος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, καὶ ἡμέρας οὐ πολ-<sup>20</sup>  
 λὰς παρενεγκούσας· καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ χρησμῶν τι  
 ἴσχυρισαμένοις μόνον δὴ τοῦτο ἔχυρῶς ξυμβάν·  
 4 ἀεὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε μέμνημαι, καὶ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέ-

μου καὶ μέχρι οὐ ἐτελεύτησεν, προφερόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὅτι τρὶς ἐννέα ἔτη δέοι γενέσθαι αὐτόν.<sup>25</sup> ἐπεβίων δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ, αἰσθανόμενός τε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ προσέχων τὴν γνώμην, ὅπως ἀκριβές τις εἴσομαι· καὶ ξυνέβη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἔτη εἴκοσι μετὰ τὴν ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατηγίαν, καὶ γενομένῳ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οὐχ<sup>30</sup> ἡσσον τοῖς Πελοποννησίων διὰ τὴν φυγήν, καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον αἰσθέσθαι. τὴν οὖν μετὰ τὰ δέκα ἔτη διαφοράν τε καὶ ξύγχυσιν τῶν σπουδῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπειτα ώς ἐπολεμήθη ἐξηγήσομαι.

27     Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ πεντηκοντούτεις σπουδαὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ ὕστερον αἱ ξυμμαχίαι, καὶ

αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου πρεσβεῖαι, αἴπερ παρεκλήθησαν ἐς αὐτά, ἀνεχώρουν<sup>2</sup> ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμονος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθυν, Κορίνθιοι δὲ ἐς Ἀργος

The Corinthians propose to form a Peloponnesian league under Athens in opposition to Lacedaemon.<sup>5</sup>

τραπόμενοι πρῶτον λόγους ποιοῦνται πρὸς τινας τῶν ἐν τέλει ὅντων Ἀργείων, ως χρή, ἐπειδὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῆς Πελοποννήσου σπουδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς<sup>10</sup> Ἀθηναίους τοὺς πρὶν ἔχθιστους πεποίηνται, ὅραν τοὺς Ἀργείους ὅπως σωθήσεται ἡ Πελοπόννησος, καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τὴν βουλομένην πόλιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἥτις αὐτόνομός τέ ἐστι καὶ δίκας ἵσταις καὶ ὁμοίας δίδωσι, πρὸς Ἀργείους ξυμμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι,<sup>15</sup> ὡστε τῇ ἀλλήλων ἐπιμαχεῖν, ἀποδεῖξαι δὲ ἄνδρας ὀλίγους ἀρχὴν αὐτοκράτορας, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τοὺς λόγους εἶναι, τοῦ μὴ καταφανεῖς γίγνεσθαι τοὺς μὴ πείσαντας τὸ πλῆθος· ἔφασαν

δὲ πολλοὺς προσχωρήσεσθαι μίσει τῶν Λακεδαι- 20  
 28 μονίων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι διδάξαντες ταῦτα  
 ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἄνδρες  
The Argives accept the proposal. ἔστε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἐψηφίσαν-  
 το Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ ἄνδρας εἶλοντο δώδεκα πρὸς οὓς 5  
 τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμμαχίαν ποιεῖσ-  
 θαι πλὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων· τούτων δὲ  
 μηδετέροις ἔξεῖναι ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀργείων  
 σπείσασθαι. ἐδέξαντό τε ταῦτα οἱ Ἀργεῖοι μᾶλλον  
 ὄρωντες τόν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σφίσι πόλεμον 10  
 ἐσόμενον, ἐπ' ἔξόδῳ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἱ σπονδαὶ  
 ἦσαν, καὶ ἡμα ἐλπίσαντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου  
 ηγήσεσθαι· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἦ τε  
 Λακεδαιμων μάλιστα δὴ κακῶς ἤκουσε καὶ ὑπερ-  
 ἀφθη διὰ τὰς ξυμφοράς, οἵ τε Ἀργεῖοι ἄριστα 15  
 ἔσχον τοῖς πᾶσιν, οὐ ξυναράμενοι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ  
 πολέμου, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἔνσπουδοι ὄντες  
 ἐκκαρπωσάμενοι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀργεῖοι οὕτως ἐς  
 τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προσεδέχοντο τοὺς ἐθέλοντας τῶν  
 29 Ἑλλήνων, Μαντινῆς δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι  
The Mantineans join the confederacy, and other states are disposed to follow. αὐτῶν πρῶτοι προσεχώρησαν, δεδιότες  
 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. τοῖς γὰρ Μαντι-  
 νεῦσι μέρος τι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας κατέστραπ-  
 το ὑπήκοον, ἔτι τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους 5  
 πολέμου ὄντος, καὶ ἐνόμιζον οὐ περιόψεσθαι σφᾶς  
 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἄρχειν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σχολὴν  
 ἥγον· ἂστε ἄσμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἐτράπον-  
 το, πόλιν τε μεγάλην νομίζοντες καὶ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίοις ἀεὶ διάφορον, δημοκρατουμένην τε ὥσπερ 10

καὶ αὐτοί. ἀποστάντων δὲ τῶν Μαντινέων καὶ ἡ  
 3 ἄλλη Πελοπόννησος ἐς θροῦν καθίστατο, ώς καὶ  
 σφίσι ποιητέον τοῦτο, νομίσαντες πλέον τέ τι  
 εἰδότας μεταστῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους  
 ἄμα δι' ῥγῆς ἔχοντες, ἐν ἄλλοις τε καὶ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς 15  
 σπουδαῖς ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς ἐγέγραπτο εὔορκον εἶναι  
 προσθεῖναι καὶ ἀφελεῖν ὅ τι ἀν ἀμφοῦν τοῦν πολέοιν  
 δοκῆ, Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ  
 γράμμα μάλιστα τὴν Πελοπόννησον διεθορύβει  
 καὶ ἐς ὑποψίαν καθίστη μὴ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων σφᾶς 20  
 βούλωνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δουλώσασθαι· δίκαιον  
 γὰρ εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ξυμμάχοις γεγράφθαι τὴν  
 μετάθεσιν. ὥστε φοβούμενοι οἱ πολλοὶ ὥρμηντο  
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔκαστοι ξυμμαχίαν  
 ποιεῖσθαι.

25

30 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸν θροῦν τοῦτον  
 ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καθεστῶτα, καὶ τοὺς Remonstrances of the  
 Κορινθίους διδασκάλους τε γενομένους  
 καὶ αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας σπείσασθαι πρὸς

the  
Lacedae-  
monians at  
Corinth.

τὸ Ἀργος, πέμπουσι πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον, 5  
 βουλόμενοι προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ μέλλον, καὶ ἡτιώντο  
 τὴν τε ἐσήγησιν τοῦ παντός, καὶ εἰ Ἀργείοις, σφῶν  
 2 ἀποστάντες, ξύμμαχοι ἔσονται, παραβήσεσθαι τε  
 ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὄρκους, καὶ ἡδη ἀδικεῖν ὅτι οὐ  
 δέχονται τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπουδάς, εἰρημένον κύριον 10  
 εἶναι ὅ τι ἀν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ξυμμάχων ψηφίσηται,  
 3 ἦν μή τι θεῶν ἡ ἡρώων κώλυμα ἦ. Κορίνθιοι δέ,  
 παρόντων σφίσι τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅσοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ  
 ἐδέξαντο τὰς σπουδάς—παρεκάλεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς  
 αὐτοὶ πρότερον—ἀντέλεγον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀ 15

μὲν ἡδικοῦντο οὐ δηλοῦντες ἄντικρυς, ὅτι οὔτε Σόλλιον σφίσιν ἀπέλαβον παρ' Ἀθηναίων οὔτε Ἀνακτόριον, εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο ἐνόμιζον ἐλασσούσθαι, πρόσχῆμα δὲ ποιούμενοι τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης μὴ προδώσειν ὅμόσαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὄρκους ἴδιᾳ τε, ὅτε μετὰ 20 Ποτιδαιατῶν τὸ πρῶτον ἀφίσταντο, καὶ ἄλλους ὕστερον. οὐκούν παραβαίνειν τοὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων ὄρκους ἔφασαν οὐκ ἐσιόντες ἐς τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων σπουδάς· θεῶν γὰρ πίστεις ὅμόσαντες ἐκείνοις οὐκ 5 ἀν εὐορκεῖν προδιδόντες αὐτούς. εἰρήσθαι δ' ὅτι 25 ἦν μὴ θεῶν ἡ ἥρωσιν κώλυμα ἢ· φαίνεσθαι οὖν σφίσι κώλυμα θεῖον τοῦτο. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν ὄρκων τοσαῦτα εἶπον, περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀργείας ξυμμαχίας μετὰ τῶν φίλων βουλευσάμενοι ποιήσειν διὰ τι ἀν δίκαιον ἢ· καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων 30 πρέσβεις ἀνεχόρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, ἔτυχον δὲ παρόντες ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ Ἀργείων πρέσβεις, οἱ ἐκέλευον τοὺς Κορινθίους ἰέναι ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ μὴ μέλλειν· οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν ὕστερον ξύλλογον αὐτοῖς τὸν παρὰ σφίσι προεῖπον ἥκειν.

31     <sup>35</sup> Ἡλθε δὲ καὶ Ἡλείων πρεσβεία εὐθὺς καὶ ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Κορινθίους ξυμμαχίαν  
 Elis and Co-  
rinth join the  
Argive alli-  
ance.  
 πρῶτον, ἐπειτα ἐκεῖθεν ἐς Ἀργος ἐλθόντες, καθάπερ προείρητο, Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο. διαφερόμενοι γὰρ ἐτύγχανον τοῖς 5 Λακεδαιμονίοις περὶ Λεπρέου. πολέμου γὰρ γενομένου ποτὲ πρὸς Ἀρκάδων τινὰς Λεπρεάταις, καὶ Ἡλείων παρακληθέντων ὑπὸ Λεπρεατῶν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμισείᾳ τῆς γῆς καὶ καταλυσάντων τὸν πόλεμον, Ἡλεῖοι τὴν γῆν νεμομένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς 10

Λεπρεάταις τάλαντον ἔταξαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ  
 3 ἀπόφέρειν. καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ πολέμου ἀπέ-  
 φερον· ἔπειτα παυσαμένων διὰ πρόφασιν τοῦ πολέ-  
 μου, οἱ Ἡλεῖοι ἐπηνάγκαζον· οἱ δὲ ἐτράποντο πρὸς  
 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ δίκης Λακεδαιμονίοις 15  
 ἐπιτραπείσης, ὑποτοπήσαντες οἱ Ἡλεῖοι μὴ ἵσον  
 ἔξειν, ἀνέντες τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν Λεπρεατῶν τὴν γῆν  
 4 ἔτεμον. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐδὲν ἡσσον ἐδίκασαν  
 αὐτονόμους εἶναι Λεπρεάτας, καὶ ἀδικεῖν Ἡλείους·  
 καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐμμεινάντων τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ φρουρὰν 20  
 ὄπλιτῶν ἐσέπεμψαν ἐς Λέπρεον. οἱ δὲ Ἡλεῖοι,  
 νομίζοντες πόλιν σφῶν ἀφεστηκυῖαν δέξασθαι τοὺς  
 Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὴν ξυνθήκην προφέροντες, ἐν  
 ἥ εἴρητο, ἀ ἔχοντες ἐς τὸν Ἀττικὸν πόλεμον καθίσ-  
 ταντό τινες, ταῦτα ἔχοντας καὶ ἐξελθεῖν, ὡς οὐκ 25  
 5 ἵσον ἔχοντες ἀφίστανται πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ  
 τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, ὥσπερ προείρητο, καὶ οὐτοὶ ἐποιή-  
 σαντο. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εὐθὺς μετ'  
 ἐκείνους καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδῆς Ἀργείων  
 ξύμμαχοι. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς τὸ αὐτὸ λέγον-  
 τες ἡσύχαζον περιορώμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,  
 καὶ νομίζοντες σφίσι τὴν Ἀργείων δημοκρατίαν  
 αὐτοῖς ὀλιγαρχουμένοις ἡσσον ξύμφορον εἶναι τῆς  
 Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας.

32 Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τούτου  
 Σκιωναίους μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκπολιορκήσαν-  
 τες ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἡβῶντας, παιᾶς δὲ  
 καὶ γυναῖκας ἡνδραπόδισαν καὶ τὴν γῆν  
 Πλαταιεῦσιν ἔδοσαν νέμεσθαι, Δηλίους δὲ κατή-  
 γαγον πάλιν ἐς Δῆλον, ἐνθυμούμενοι τάς τε ἐν ταῖς

Capture of  
Scione. Te-  
gea refuses to  
revolt from  
Lacedaemon.

μάχαις ξυμφορὰς καὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεοῦ χρήσαν-  
 τος. καὶ Φωκῆς καὶ Λοκροὶ ἥρξαντο πολεμεῖν.  
 καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἥδη ξύμμαχοι ἔντες  
 ἔρχονται ἐς Τεγέαν ἀποστήσοντες Λακεδαιμονίων,  
 ὁρῶντες μέγα μέρος ὅν, καὶ εἰ σφίσι προσγένοιτο  
 νομίζοντες ἄπασαν ἀν ἔχειν Πελοπόννησον. ὡς δὲ  
 οὐδὲν ἀν ἔφασαν ἐναντιωθῆναι οἱ Τεγεᾶται Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις, οἱ Κορίνθιοι μέχρι τούτου προθύμως  
 πράσσοντες ἀνεῖσαν τῆς φιλονεικίας καὶ ὥρρώδη-  
 σαν μὴ οὐδεὶς σφίσιν ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων προσχωρῆ-  
 ὅμως δὲ ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἐδέοντο σφῶν  
 τε καὶ Ἀργείων γίγνεσθαι ξυμμάχους καὶ τάλλα  
 κοινῇ πράσσειν· τάς τε δεχημέρους ἐπισπονδάς, αἱ  
 ἥσαν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Βοιωτοῖς πρὸς ἄλλήλους  
 οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον γενόμεναι τούτων τῶν πεντη-  
 κονταετίδων σπονδῶν, ἐκέλευον οἱ Κορίνθιοι τοὺς  
 Βοιωτοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας Ἀθήναζε καὶ σφίσι  
 ποιῆσαι, ὥσπερ Βοιωτοὶ εἶχον, μὴ δεχομένων δὲ  
 Ἀθηναίων ἀπειπεῖν τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν  
 μὴ σπένδεσθαι ἄνευ αὐτῶν. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ δεομένων  
 τῶν Κορινθίων περὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀργείων ξυμμαχίας  
 ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον, ἐλθόντες δὲ Ἀθήναζε  
 μετὰ Κορινθίων οὐχ εὕροντο τὰς δεχημέρους σπον-  
 δάς, ἀλλ’ ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Κορινθίοις  
 εἶναι σπονδάς, εἴπερ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσὶ ξύμμαχοι.  
 Βοιωτοὶ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπεῖπον τὰς δεχη-  
 μέρους, ἀξιούντων καὶ αἰτιωμένων Κορινθίων  
 ξυνθέσθαι σφίσιν· Κορινθίοις δὲ ἀνακωχὴ ἀσπον-  
 δος ἦν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους.

33      Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους πανδημεὶ

ἐστράτευσαν, Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Παυ-  
σανίου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως ἥγου-  
μένου, τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐς Παρρασίους,  
Μαντινέων ὑπηκόους ὅντας, κατὰ στάσιν ἐπικαλε-  
σαμένων σφᾶς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυψέλοις τεῖχος  
ἀναιρήσοντες, ἦν δύνωνται, ὃ ἐτείχισαν Μαντινῆς  
καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφρούρουν, ἐν τῇ Παρρασικῇ κείμενον  
ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιρίτιδι τῆς Λακωνικῆς. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακε-  
δαιμόνιοι τὴν γῆν τῶν Παρρασίων ἔδήσαν, οἱ δὲ  
Μαντινῆς τὴν πόλιν Ἀργείοις φύλαξι παραδόντες  
αὐτοὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐφρούρουν· ἀδίνατοι δ' ὅντες  
διασώσαι τό τε ἐν Κυψέλοις τεῖχος καὶ τὰς ἐν  
Παρρασίοις πόλεις ἀπῆλθον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ  
τοὺς τε Παρρασίους αὐτονόμους ποιήσαντες καὶ τὸ  
τεῖχος καθελόντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

Lacedaemonian expedition into Arcadia.

34 Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους, ἥδη ἡκόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν  
ἀπὸ Θράκης μετὰ Βρασίδου ἔξελθόντων  
στρατιωτῶν, οὓς ὁ Κλεαρίδας μετὰ τὰς  
σπουδὰς ἐκόμισεν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐψη-  
φίσαντο τοὺς μὲν μετὰ Βρασίδου Εἴλω-  
τας μαχεσαμένους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ  
οἰκεῖν ὅπου ἀν βούλωνται, καὶ ὑστερον  
οὐ πολλῷ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν νεοδαμωδῶν ἐς Λέπρεον  
κατέστησαν, κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς  
Ἡλείας, ὅντες ἥδη διάφοροι Ἡλείοις· τοὺς δ' ἐκ  
τῆς νήσου ληφθέντας σφῶν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα παραδόν-  
τας, δείσαντες μή τι διὰ τὴν ξυμφορὰν νομίσαντες  
ἔλασσωθήσεσθαι καὶ ὅντες ἐπίτιμοι νεωτερίσωσιν,  
ἥδη καὶ ἀρχάς τινας ἔχοντας ἀτίμους ἐποίησαν,  
ἀτιμίαν δὲ τοιάνδε ὥστε μήτε ἀρχειν μήτε πριαμέ-  
15

Enfranchisement of the Helots who served under Brasidas.  
Treatment of the captives recovered from Sphacteria.

νους τι ἡ πωλοῦντας κυρίους εἶναι. ὕστερον δὲ  
αἰθις χρόνῳ ἐπίτιμοι ἐγένοντο.

35 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους καὶ Θύσσον τὴν ἐν<sup>1</sup> τῇ

Growing susp-  
icions be-  
tween Athens  
and Sparta. "Αθῷ Δικτιδῆς εἶλον, 'Αθηναίων οὖσαν  
ξύμμαχον.

Καὶ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο πᾶν ἐπιμιξίαι  
μὲν ἥσαν τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις, <sup>3</sup>  
ὑπώπτευον δὲ ἀλλήλους εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς οἵ  
τε 'Αθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὴν τῶν  
<sup>2</sup> χωρίων ἀλλήλοις οὐκ ἀπόδοσιν. τὴν γὰρ 'Αμφί-  
πολιν πρότεροι λαχόντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀποδι-  
δόναι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀποδεδώκεσαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς <sup>10</sup>  
ἐπὶ Θράκης παρεῖχον ξυμμάχους τὰς σπονδὰς  
δεχομένους οὐδὲ Βοιωτοὺς οὐδὲ Κορινθίους, λέγον-  
τες ἀεὶ ὡς μετ' 'Αθηναίων τούτους, ἦν μὴ θέλωσι,  
κοινῇ ἀναγκάσουσιν<sup>3</sup> χρόνους τε προύθεντο ἄνευ  
ξυγγραφῆς ἐν οἷς χρῆν τοὺς μὴ ἐσιόντας ἀμφοτέ- <sup>15</sup>  
<sup>3</sup> ροις πολεμίους εἶναι. τούτων οὖν ὄρωντες οἱ 'Αθη-  
ναῖοι οὐδὲν ἔργῳ γιγνόμενον ὑπετόπευον τοὺς  
Λακεδαιμονίους μηδὲν δίκαιον διανοεῖσθαι, ὥστε  
οὕτε Πύλον ἀπαιτούντων αὐτῶν ἀπεδίδοσαν, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου δεσμώτας μετεμέλοντο ἀπο- <sup>20</sup>  
δεδωκότες, τά τε ἄλλα χωρία εἶχον, μένοντες ἔως  
<sup>4</sup> σφίσι κάκεῖνοι ποιήσειαν τὰ εἰρημένα. Λακεδαι-  
μόνιοι δὲ τὰ μὲν δυνατὰ ἔφασαν πεποιηκέναι· τοὺς  
γὰρ παρὰ σφίσι δεσμώτας ὅντας 'Αθηναίων ἀπο-  
δοῦναι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης στρατιώτας ἀπαγαγεῖν <sup>25</sup>  
καὶ εἴ του ἄλλου ἐγκρατεῖς ἥσαν<sup>4</sup> 'Αμφιπόλεως δὲ  
<sup>5</sup> οὐκ ἔφασαν κρατεῖν ὥστε παραδοῦναι, Βοιωτοὺς δὲ  
πειράσεσθαι καὶ Κορινθίους ἐς τὰς σπονδὰς ἐσα-

γαγεῖν καὶ Πάνακτον ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ Ἀθηναίων  
ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν Βοιωτοῖς αἰχμάλωτοι κομιεῖν. Πύλου<sup>30</sup>  
μέντοι ἡξίουν σφίσιν ἀποδοῦναι· εἰ δὲ μή, Μεσση-  
νίους τε καὶ τοὺς Εἴλωτας ἔξαγαγεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ  
αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Θράκης, Ἀθηναίους δὲ φρουρεῖν τὸ  
χωρίον αὐτούς, εἰ βιούλοιται. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ  
πολλῶν λόγων γενομένων ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ ἔπει-<sup>35</sup>  
σαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥστε ἔξαγαγεῖν ἐκ Πύλου  
Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Εἴλωτάς τε καὶ ὅσοι  
ηὐτομολήκεσαν ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς· καὶ κατώκισαν  
αὐτοὺς ἐν Κρανίοις τῆς Κεφαλληνίας· τὸ μὲν οὖν  
θέρος τοῦτο ἡσυχία ἦν καὶ ἔφοδοι παρ' ἀλλήλους.

36 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος—ἔτυχον γὰρ  
ἔφοροι ἔτεροι καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ὅν αἱ σπουδαὶ  
ἐγένοντο ἄρχοντες ἥδη καὶ τινες αὐτῶν  
καὶ ἐναντίοι<sup>1</sup> σπουδαῖς—έλθουσῶν πρεσ-  
βειῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος καὶ παρόντων  
Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων  
καὶ πολλὰ ἐν ἀλλήλοις εἰπόντων καὶ  
οὐδὲν ξυμβάντων, ὡς ἀπήεσαν ἐπ' οἴκου, τοὺς  
Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Κορινθίοις Κλεόβουλος καὶ Ξενάρης,  
οὓτοι οἵπερ τῶν ἔφόρων ἐβούλοντο μάλιστα διαλῦ-<sup>10</sup>  
σαι τὰς σπουδάς, λόγους ποιοῦνται ἰδίους, παραι-  
νοῦντες δτι μάλιστα ταῦτά τε γιγνώσκειν καὶ πει-  
ρᾶσθαι Βοιωτούς, Ἀργείων γενομένους πρῶτον  
αὐτοὺς ξυμμάχους, αὐθὶς μετὰ Βοιωτῶν Ἀργείους  
Λακεδαιμονίοις ποιῆσαι ξυμμάχους· οὕτω γὰρ<sup>15</sup>  
ἥκιστ' ἀν ἀναγκασθῆναι Βοιωτοὺς ἐς τὰς Ἀττικὰς  
σπουδὰς ἐσελθεῖν· ἐλέσθαι γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους  
πρὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἔχθρας καὶ διαλύσεως τῶν

The new  
Spartan  
ephors in-  
trigue with  
Corinth and  
Boeotia, pro-  
posing to ef-  
fect an alli-  
ance with  
Argos.  
5

σπονδῶν Ἀργείους σφίσι φίλους καὶ ξυμμάχους  
<sup>3</sup> γενέσθαι. τὸ γὰρ Ἀργος ἀεὶ ἡπίσταντο ἐπιθυ-  
 μοῦντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καλῶς σφίσι φίλιον  
 γενέσθαι,<sup>1</sup> ἥγούμενοι τὸν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου πόλε-  
 μον ῥάῳ ἀν εἶναι. τὸ μέντοι Πάνακτον ἐδέοντο  
 Βοιωτοὺς ὅπως παραδώσουσι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἵνα  
 ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Πύλον, ἦν δύνωνται, ἀπολαβόντες ῥάον <sup>25</sup>  
<sup>37</sup> καθιστῶνται Ἀθηναίοις ἐς πόλεμον. καὶ οἱ μὲν

The Boeo-  
tians are  
favourably  
disposed.

Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορίνθιοι ταῦτα ἐπεσταλ-  
 μένοι ἀπό τε τοῦ Ξενάρους καὶ Κλεοβού-  
 λου καὶ ὅσοι φίλοι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς τᾶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε ἀπαγγεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ κοινά, <sup>5</sup>  
 ἑκάτεροι ἀνεχώρουν. Ἀργείων δὲ δίο ἄνδρες τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς τῆς μεγίστης ἐπετήρουν ἀπιόντας αὐτοὺς  
 καθ' ὁδὸν καὶ ξυγγενόμενοι ἐς λόγους ἥλθον, εἴ πως  
 οἱ Βοιωτοὶ σφίσι ξύμμαχοι γένοιντο ὥσπερ Κορίν-  
<sup>2</sup> θιοι καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς· νομίζειν γὰρ ἀν <sup>10</sup>  
 τούτου προχωρήσαντος ῥαδίως ἥδη καὶ πολεμεῖν  
 καὶ σπένδεσθαι καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, εἰ βού-  
 λοιντο, κοινῷ λόγῳ χρωμένους, καὶ εἴ τινα πρὸς  
 ἄλλον δέοι. τοῖς δὲ τῶν Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεσιν  
<sup>3</sup> ἀκούουσιν ἥρεσκεν· κατὰ τύχην γὰρ ἐδέοντο τού-  
 των ὥνπερ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος αὐτοῖς  
 φίλοι ἐπεστάλκεσαν. καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀργείων ἄνδρες  
 ὡς ἥσθοντο αὐτοὺς δεχομένους τὸν λόγον, εἰπόντες  
 ὅτι πρέσβεις πέμψουσιν ἐς Βοιωτοὺς ἀπῆλθον.  
 ἀφικόμενοι δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς βοιω-  
 τάρχαις τά τε ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ξυγγενομένων Ἀργείων· καὶ οἱ βοιωτάρχαι  
 ἥρέσκοντό τε καὶ πολλῷ προθυμότεροι ἦσαν, ὅτι

<sup>1</sup> ἥγουμένους?

αμφοτέρωθεν ξυνεβεβήκει αὐτοῖς τούς τε φίλους  
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν αὐτῶν δεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς <sup>25</sup>  
· Ἀργείους ἐς τὰ ὄμοια σπεύδειν. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ  
ὕστερον πρέσβεις παρῆσαν Ἀργείων τὰ εἰρημένα  
προκαλούμενοι· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν ἐπαινέσαν-  
τες τοὺς λόγους οἱ βοιωτάρχαι καὶ πρέσβεις ὑπο-  
σχόμενοι ἀποστελεῖν περὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἐς <sup>26</sup>Ἀργος.

38      'Εν δὲ τούτῳ ἐδόκει πρῶτον τοῖς βοιωτάρχαις  
καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ τοῖς <sup>The matter  
however falls  
through.</sup> ἀπὸ Θράκης πρέσβεσιν ὅμόσαι ὄρκους  
ἀλλήλοις, ἡ μὴν ἐν τε τῷ παρατυχόντι ἀμυνεῖν  
τῷ δεομένῳ καὶ μὴ πολεμήσειν τῷ μηδὲ ξυμβήσεσ-  
θαι ἄνευ κοινῆς γνώμης, καὶ οὕτως ἡδη τοὺς Βοιω-  
τοὺς καὶ Μεγαρέας—τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐποίουν—πρὸς  
τοὺς Ἀργείους σπένδεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ τοὺς ὄρκους  
γενέσθαι οἱ βοιωτάρχαι ἐκοίνωσαν ταῖς τέσσαρσι  
βουλαῖς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ταῦτα, αἴπερ ἅπαν τὸ κύρος <sup>27</sup>  
ἔχουσιν, καὶ παρήνουν γενέσθαι ὄρκους ταῖς πόλε-  
σιν, ὅσαι βούλονται ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ σφίσι ξυνομνύναι.  
· οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ὄντες οὐ προσ-  
δέχονται τὸν λίγον, δεδιότες μὴ ἐναντία Λακεδαι-  
μονίοις ποιήσωσι, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἀφεστῶσι Κοριν-  
θίοις ξυνομνύντες· οὐ γὰρ εἰπον αὐτοῖς οἱ βοιωτάρ-  
χαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμονος, ὅτι τῶν τε ἐφόρων  
Κλεόβουλος καὶ Ξενάρης καὶ οἱ φίλοι παραινοῦσιν  
Ἀργείων πρῶτον καὶ Κορινθίων γενομένους ξυμμά-  
χους ὕστερον μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων γίγνεσθαι,  
οἱόμενοι τὴν βουλήν, κάν μὴ εἴπωσιν, οὐκ ἄλλα  
ψηφιεῖσθαι ἢ ἣ σφίσι προδιαγνόντες παραινοῦσιν.  
· ώς δὲ ἀντέστη τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ

ἀπὸ Θράκης πρέσβεις ἅπρακτοι ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ  
Βοιωτάρχαι μέλλοντες πρότερον, εἰ ταῦτα ἔπεισαν,<sup>25</sup>  
καὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν πειράσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀργείους  
ποιεῖν, οὐκέτι ἐσήνεγκαν περὶ Ἀργείων ἐς τὰς  
βουλάς, οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ Ἀργος τοὺς πρέσβεις οἵς  
ὑπέσχοντο ἔπειμπον, ἀμέλεια δέ τις ἐνῆν καὶ  
διατριβὴ τῶν πάντων.

30

39 Καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ Μηκύβερναν  
Ὀλύνθιοι Ἀθηναίων φρουρούντων ἐπιδραμόντες  
εἶλον.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα—ἐγίγνοντο γὰρ ἀεὶ λόγοι τοῖς

Alliance concluded between Lacedaemon and Boeotia. τε Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις περὶ ὧν εἵχον ἀλλήλων—ἐλπίζοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ Πάνακτον Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ

Βοιωτῶν ἀπολάβοιεν, κομίσασθαι ἀν αὐτοὶ Πύλον, ἥλθον ἐς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς πρεσβευόμενοι καὶ ἐδέοντο σφίσι Πάνακτόν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων δεσμώτας <sup>10</sup> παραδοῦναι, ἵν' ἀντ' αὐτῶν Πύλον κομίσωνται.

2 oī δὲ Βοιωτοὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν, ἦν μὴ σφίσι ξυμμαχίαν ἴδιαν ποιήσωνται ὡσπερ Ἀθηναίοις. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ εἰδότες μὲν ὅτι ἀδικήσουσιν Ἀθηναίους, εἰρημένον ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μήτε σπένδεσθαι <sup>15</sup> τῷ μήτε πολεμεῖν, βουλόμενοι δὲ τὸ Πάνακτον παραλαβεῖν ώς τὴν Πύλον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κομιούμενοι καὶ ἄμα τῶν ξυγχέαι σπευδίντων τὰς σπουδὰς προθυμουμένων τὰ ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ξυμμαχίαν τοῦ χειμῶνος τελευτῶντος ἥδη καὶ πρὸς <sup>20</sup> ἕαρ· καὶ τὸ Πάνακτον εὐθὺς καθηρεύτο. καὶ ἐνδέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

40 "Αμα δὲ τῷ ἥρι εὐθὺς τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους

B.C. 420. The Argives, fearing to be left without allies, apply to Lacedaemon for terms of truce.

οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, ὡς οἵ τε πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν οὓς ἔφασαν πέμψειν οὐχ ἥκου, τό τε Πάνακτον ἥσθοντο καθαιρούμενον καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἴδιαν γεγενημένην τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἔδεισαν

μὴ μονωθῶσι καὶ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους πᾶσα ἡ ξυμμαχία χωρήσῃ· τοὺς γὰρ Βοιωτοὺς φοντο πεπεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τό τε Πάνακτον καθελεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδὰς ἐσιέναι, τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίους εἰδέναι ταῦτα, ὥστε οὐδὲ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἔτι σφίσιν εἶναι ξυμμαχίαν ποιῆσασθαι, πρότερον ἐλπίζοντες ἐκ τῶν διαφορῶν, εἰ μὴ μείνειαν αὐτοῖς αἱ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδαί, τοῖς γοῦν Ἀθηναίοις ξύμμαχοι ἔσεσθαι. ἀποροῦντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Τεγεάταις, Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἅμα πολεμῶσιν, πρότερον οὐ δεχόμενοι τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων σπονδάς, ἀλλ’ ἐν φρονήματι ὄντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἡγήσεσθαι, ἐπεμπον ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονα πρέσβεις Εὔστροφον καὶ Αἴσωνα, οἱ ἐδόκουν προσφιλέστατοι αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ἡγούμενοι ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κράτιστα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι, ὅπῃ ἀν ξυγχωρῆ, ισυχίαν ἔχειν. καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι

αὐτῶν λόγους ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐφ' ὃ ἦν σφίσιν αἱ σπονδαὶ γίγνοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἡξίουν δίκης ἐπιτροπὴν σφίσι γενέσθαι ἢ ἐς πόλιν τινὰ ἡ ἴδιωτην περὶ τῆς Κυνοσουρίας γῆς, ἡς ἀεὶ πέρι διαφέρονται μεθορίας οὔσης—ἔχει δὲ

Preliminaries of peace settled between Sparta and Argos.

ἐν αὐτῇ Θυρέαν καὶ Ἀνθήνην πόλιν, νέμονται δὲ αὐτὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι—ἔπειτα δὲ οὐκ ἐώντων Λακεδαιμονίων μεμνῆσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀλλ’ εἰ βούλονται σπένδεσθαι ὥσπερ πρότερον, ἔτοιμοι εἶναι, οἱ Ἀργεῖοι πρέσβεις τάδε ὅμως ἐπηγάγοντο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ξυγχωρῆσαι, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι σπουδὰς ποιήσασθαι ἔτη πεντήκοντα, ἐξεῖναι δὲ ὁποτεροισοῦν προκαλεσαμένοις, μήτε νόσου οὔσης μήτε πολέμου Λακεδαιμονικαὶ "Ἀργεῖ, διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ποτε, ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἡξίωσαν νικᾶν, διώκειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι περαιτέρω τῶν πρὸς "Ἀργος καὶ Λακεδαιμονα ὄρων. τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδόκει μωρία εἶναι ταῦτα, ἔπειτα—ἐπεθύμουν γὰρ τὸ "Ἀργος πάντως φίλιον ἔχειν—ξυνεχώρησαν ἐφ’ οὓς ἡξίουν καὶ ξυνεγράψαντο. ἐκέλευον δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν τέλος τι αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ἐς τὸ "Ἀργος πρῶτον ἐπαναχωρήσαντας αὐτοὺς δεῖξαι τῷ πλήθει, καὶ ἦν ἀρέσκοντα ἥ, ἥκειν ἐς τὰ Ἄκινθια **42** τοὺς ὄρκους ποιησομένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρη-

Indignation  
of the Athe-  
nians.

σαν· ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, φόιοι Ἀργεῖοι ταῦτα ἐπρασσον, οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, Ἀνδρομένης καὶ Φαίδιμος καὶ Ἀντιμενίδας, οὓς ἔδει τὸ Πάνακτον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς παρὰ Βοιωτῶν παραλαβόντας Ἀθηναίοις ἀποδοῦναι, τὸ μὲν Πάνακτον ὑπὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν αὐτῶν καθηρημένον εὑρόν, ἐπὶ προφάσει ὡς ἡσάν ποτε Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Βοιωτοῖς ἐκ διαφορᾶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὄρκοι παλαιοὶ μηδετέρους οἴκειν τὸ χωρίον ἀλλὰ κοινῆ νέμειν, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας οὓς εἶχον αἰχμα-

λώτους Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίων, παραλαβούτες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρομένην ἐκόμισαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἀπέδοσαν, τοῦ τε Πανάκτου τὴν καθαιρεσιν ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς, νομίζοντες καὶ τοῦτο ἀποδιδόναι· πολέμιον <sup>15</sup> γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίοις οἰκήσειν οὐδένα. <sup>3</sup> λεγομένων δὲ τούτων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δεινὰ ἐποίουν, νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι ἵπο Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ τε Πανάκτου τὴν καθαιρέσει, ὃ ἔδει ὄρθὸν παραδοῦναι, καὶ πυνθανόμενοι ὅτι καὶ Βοιωτοῖς ἴδιᾳ ξυμμαχίαν <sup>20</sup> πεποίηνται, φάσκοντες πρότερον κοινῇ τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους τὰς σπονδὰς προσαναγκάσειν. τά τε ἄλλα ἐσκόπουν ὅσα ἔξελελοίπεσαν τῆς ξυνθήκης καὶ ἐνόμιζον ἔξηπατῆσθαι, ὥστε χαλεπῶς πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀπέπεμψαν.

43 Κατὰ τοιαύτην δὴ διαφορὰν ὄντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οἱ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις αὖ βουλόμενοι λῦσαι τὰς σπονδὰς εὐθὺς ἐνέκειντο. οἵσαν δὲ ἄλλοι <sup>ALCIBIADES promotes an alliance between Athens and Argos.</sup> τε καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου, ἀνὴρ ἡλικίᾳ μὲν ὧν <sup>5</sup> ἔτι τότε νέος ὡς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει, ἀξιώματι δὲ προγόνων τιμώμενος· φὰς ἐδόκει μὲν καὶ ἄμεινον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους μᾶλλον χωρεῖν, οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονήματι φιλονεικῶν ἡναντιοῦτο, ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ Νικίου καὶ Λάχητος ἐπραξαν <sup>10</sup> τὰς σπονδάς, αὐτὸν κατά τε τὴν νεότητα ὑπεριδόντες καὶ κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν προξενίαν ποτὲ οὐσαν οὐ τιμήσαντες, ἦν τοῦ πάππου ἀπειπόντος αὐτὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους θεραπεύων διε<sup>3</sup> νοεῖτο ἀνανεώσασθαι. πανταχόθεν τε νομίζων <sup>15</sup> ἐλασσοῦσθαι τό τε πρῶτον ἀντεῖπεν, οὐ βεβαίους

φάσκων εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀλλ' ἵνα Ἀργείους σφίσι σπεισάμενοι ἔξελωσι καὶ αὐθις ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μόνους ἴωσι, τούτου ἔνεκα σπένδεσθαι αὐτούς· καὶ τότε, ἐπειδὴ ἡ διαφορὰ ἐγεγένητο, πέμπει<sup>20</sup> εὐθὺς ἐς Ἀργος ἴδιᾳ, κελεύων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προκαλουμένους ἥκειν μετὰ Μαντινέων καὶ Ἡλείων, ὡς καιροῦ ὄντος καὶ αὐτὸς ξυμπράξων

**44** τὰ μάλιστα. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ἀκούσαντες τῆς τε

Argive am-  
bassadors  
sent to  
Athens. La-  
cedaemonian  
envoys also  
arrive.

ἀγγελίας καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν οὐ μετ' Ἀθηναίων πραχθεῖσαν τὴν τῶν Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς διαφορὰν μεγάλην καθεστώτας αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαι-

μονίους, τῶν μὲν ἐν Λακεδαιμονι πρέσβεων, οἱ σφίσι περὶ τῶν σπουδῶν ἔτυχον ἀπόντες, ημέλουν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην εἰχον, νομίζοντες πόλιν τε σφίσι φιλίαν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ καὶ δημοκρατουμένην, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ δύναμιν<sup>10</sup> μεγάλην ἔχουσαν τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ξυμπολεμή-<sup>2</sup> σειν σφίσιν, ἦν καθιστῶνται ἐς πόλεμον. ἐπεμ- πον οὖν εὐθὺς πρέσβεις ὡς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας· ξυνεπρεσβεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς. ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις κατὰ τάχος, δοκοῦντες ἐπιτήδειοι εἶναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, Φιλοχαρίδας καὶ Λέων καὶ Ἐνδιος, δείσαντες μὴ τὴν τε ξυμμαχίαν ὀργιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους ποιήσωνται, καὶ ἡμα Πύλον ἀπαι- τήσοντες ἀντὶ Πανάκτου, καὶ περὶ τῆς Βοιωτῶν<sup>20</sup> ξυμμαχίας ἀπολογησίμενοι ἀς οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ λέγοντες ἐν τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τε τούτων καὶ ὡς αὐτοκράτορες ἥκουσι

περὶ πάντων ξυμβῆναι τῶν διαφόρων, τὸν  
 Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐφόβουν μὴ καὶ ἦν ἐς τὸν  
 δῆμον ταῦτα λέγωσιν, ἐπαγάγωνται τὸ  
 πλῆθος καὶ ἀπωσθῆ ἡ Ἀργείων ξυμμα-  
 χία. μηχανᾶται δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιόνδε τι ὁ  
 Ἀλκιβιάδης· τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πείθει, πίστιν  
 αὐτοῖς δούς, ἦν μὴ ὁμολογήσωσιν ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ  
 αὐτοκράτορες ἥκειν, Πύλον τε αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν—  
 πείσειν γὰρ αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἀντι-  
 λέγειν—καὶ τάλλα ξυναλλάξειν. βουλόμενος δὲ  
 αὐτοὺς Νικίου τε ἀποστῆσαι ταῦτα ἐπρασσε, καὶ  
 ὅπως ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ διαβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐδὲν ἀλη-  
 θὲς ἐν νῷ ἔχουσιν οὐδὲ λέγουσιν οὐδέποτε ταῦτά,  
 τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Μαντινέας ξυμμά-  
 χους ποιήσῃ. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς  
 τὸν δῆμον παρελθόντες καὶ ἐπερωτώμενοι οὐκ  
 ἔφασαν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, αὐτοκράτορες ἥκειν, οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι ἡνείχοντο, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου  
 πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον καταβοῶντος τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἐσήκουον τε καὶ ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν  
 εἰθὺς παραγαγόντες τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς μετ'  
 αὐτῶν ξυμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι· σεισμοῦ δὲ γενομένου,  
 πρὶν τι ἐπικυρωθῆναι, ἡ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὗτη ἀνεβλήθη.

46 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ Νικίας, καίπερ τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτῶν ἡ πατημένων καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ἐξηπατημένος περὶ τοῦ μὴ αὐτοκρά-  
 τορας ὁμολογῆσαι ἥκειν, ὡμως τοῖς Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις ἔφη χρῆναι φίλους μᾶλλον  
 γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἐπισχόντας τὰ πρὶς Ἀρ-  
 γείους πέμψαι ἔτι ὡς αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰδέναι ὅ τι δια-

Artifice of  
 Alcibiades to  
 prejudice the  
 people  
 against the  
 Lacedae-  
 monians.

The Athe-  
 nians, in spite  
 of the efforts  
 of Nicias,  
 conclude an  
 alliance with  
 Argos, Man-  
 tinea and  
 Elia.

νοοῦνται, λέγων ἐν μὲν τῷ σφετέρῳ καλῷ ἐν δὲ τῷ  
 ἐκείνων ἀπρεπεῖ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβάλλεσθαι· σφίσι  
 μὲν γὰρ εὐ ἐστώτων τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖσ-  
 τον ἄριστον εἶναι διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐπραγίαν,  
 ἐκείνοις δὲ δυστυχοῦσιν ὅτι τάχιστα εὑρημα εἶναι  
 διακινδυνεύσαι. ἔπεισέ τε πέμψαι πρέσβεις, ὃν  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, κελεύσοντας Λακεδαιμονίους, εἴ τι  
 δίκαιον διανοοῦνται, Πάνακτόν τε ὄρθὸν ἀποδιδόναι<sup>15</sup>  
 καὶ Ἀμφίπολιν, καὶ τὴν Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχίαν ἀνεῖ-  
 ναι, ἦν μὴ ἐς τὰς σπουδὰς ἐσίωσι, καθάπερ εἴρητο  
 ἃνευ ἀλλήλων μηδενὶ ξυμβαίνειν. εἰπεῖν τε ἐκέ-  
 λευνον ὅτι καὶ σφεῖς, εἰ ἐβούλοντο ἀδικεῖν, ἥδη ἀν  
 Ἀργείους ξυμμάχους πεποιῆσθαι, ὡς παρεῖναι γ'<sup>20</sup>  
 αὐτοὺς αὐτοῦ τούτου ἔνεκα. εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο ἐνεκά-  
 λουν, πάντα ἐπιστείλαντες ἀπέπεμψαι τοὺς περὶ  
 τὸν Νικίαν πρέσβεις. καὶ ἀφικομένων αὐτῶν καὶ  
 ἀπαγγειλάντων τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τέλος εἰπόντων ὅτι  
 εἰ μὴ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἀνήσουσι Βοιωτοῖς μὴ ἐσιοῦ-<sup>25</sup>  
 σιν ἐς τὰς σπουδὰς, ποιήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἀργείους  
 καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν ξυμμάχους, τὴν μὲν ξυμμαχίαν  
 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Βοιωτοῖς οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀνήσειν,  
 ἐπικρατούντων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ξενάρη τὸν ἔφορον  
 ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης<sup>30</sup>  
 ἤσαν, τοὺς δὲ ὄρκους δεομένου Νικίου ἀνενεώσαντο.  
 ἔφοβεῖτο γὰρ μὴ πάντα ἀτελῆ ἔχων ἀπέλθῃ καὶ  
 διαβληθῇ, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο, αἴτιος δοκῶν εἶναι τῶν  
 πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπουδῶν. ἀναχωρήσαντός  
 τε αὐτοῦ ὡς ἥκουσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς<sup>35</sup>  
 Λακεδαιμονος πεπραγμένον, εὐθὺς δι' ὄργῆς εἶχον,  
 καὶ νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἔτυχον γὰρ παρόντες οἱ

Αργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, παραγαγόντος Ἀλκιβιάδου, ἐποιήσαντο σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τήνδε.

47 Σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο ἑκατὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτη καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς καὶ Ἡλεῖοι ὑπὲρ 40  
Terms and  
conditions of  
the alliance.  
σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὡν ἄρχουσιν ἑκάτεροι, ἀδόλους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἔξεστω ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ πημονῇ μήτε Ἀργείους καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Μαντινέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους, ὡν ἄρχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, μήτε Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Μαντινέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τέχνῃ 10  
μηδὲ μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾷ. κατὰ τάδε ξυμμάχους εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Μαντινέας ἑκατὸν ἔτη· ἦν πολέμιοι ἵωσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀργείους καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Μαντινέας Ἀθήναζε, καθ' ὃ τι ἀν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, τρόπῳ ὅποιώ ἀν δύνωνται ἴσχυρο-15  
τάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ἦν δὲ δηώσαντες οἴχωνται, πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πολιν Ἀργείοις καὶ Μαντινεῦσι καὶ Ἡλείοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων τούτων· κατα-20  
λύειν δὲ μὴ ἔξειναι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν μηδεμιᾳ τῶν πόλεων, ἦν μὴ ἀπάσαις δοκῇ.  
5 βοηθεῖν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐς Ἀργος καὶ Μαντίνειαν καὶ Ἡλιν, ἦν πολέμιοι ἵωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἡλείων ἥ τὴν Μαντινέων ἥ τὴν Ἀργείων, καθ' ὃ 25  
τι ἀν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν αἱ πόλεις αὐταὶ, τρόπῳ ὅποιώ ἀν δύνωνται ἴσχυροτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ἦν δὲ

δηώσαντες οἶχωνται, πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Μαντινέουσι καὶ Ἡλείοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπὸ πασῶν τούτων τῶν πόλεων· καταλύειν δὲ μὴ ἔξεῖναι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ἦν μὴ ἀπάσαις δοκῆ ταῖς πόλεσιν. ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἔαν ἔχοντας διεῖναι ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ τῆς γῆς τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὃν ἀν ἄρχωσιν ἔκαστοι, μηδὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἦν μὴ ψηφισαμένων τῶν πόλεων ἀπασῶν τὴν δίοδον εἶναι, Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Μαντινέων καὶ Ἡλείων. τοῖς δὲ βοηθοῦσιν ἡ πόλις ἡ πέμπουσα παρεχέτω μέχρι μὲν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν σῖτον, ἐπὴν ἔλθῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐπαγγείλασαν βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἀπιοῦσι κατὰ ταύτα· ἦν δὲ πλέονα βούλωνται χρόνον τῇ στρατιᾷ χρῆσθαι, ἡ πόλις ἡ μεταπεμψαμένη διδότω σῖτον, τῷ μὲν ὁπλίτῃ καὶ ψιλῷ καὶ τοξότῃ τρεῖς ὀβολοὺς Αἰγιναίους τῆς ἡμέρας ἔκαστης, τῷ δ' ἵππεῖ δραχμὴν <sub>45</sub> Αἰγιναίαν. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡ μεταπεμψαμένη τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχέτω, ὅταν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὁ πόλεμος ἥτιν δέ ποι δόξῃ ταῖς πόλεσι κοινῇ στρατεύεσθαι, τὸ ἴσον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μετεῖναι πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν.

’Ομόσαι δὲ τὰς σπουδὰς Ἀθηναίους μὲν ὑπέρ <sub>50</sub> τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ Μαντινῆς καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τούτων κατὰ πόλεις ὀμνύντων. ὀμνύντων δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ὄρκον ἔκαστοι τὸν μέγιστον κατὰ ίερῶν τελείων. ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ἔστω ὅδε· ἐμμενῶ τῇ ξυμμαχίᾳ κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα δικαίως καὶ ἀβλαβῶς καὶ ἀδόλως καὶ οὐ παραβήσομαι τέχνη οὐδὲ

μηχανῆ οὐδεμιᾶ. ὁμονύντων δὲ Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ αἱ ἔνδημοι ἀρχαί, ἐξορκούντων δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις· ἐν Ἀργεί τὸν δὲ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ οἱ ὄγδοήκοντα καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἀρτῦναι, ἐξορκούντων δὲ οἱ ὄγδοήκοντα· ἐν δὲ Μαντινείᾳ οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀρχαί, ἐξορκούντων δὲ οἱ θεωροὶ καὶ οἱ πολέμαρχοι· ἐν δὲ Ἡλιδί οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ τέλη ἔχοντες καὶ οἱ ἑξακόσιοι, ἐξορκούντων δὲ οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ οἱ θεσμοφύλακες. ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ τοὺς ὄρκους Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἰόντας ἐστὶ Ήλιν καὶ ἐστὶ Μαντίνειαν καὶ ἐστὶ Ἀργος τριάκοντα ἡμέραις πρὸ Ὀλυμπίων, Ἀργείους δὲ καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Μαντινέας ἰόντας Ἀθήναζε δέκα ἡμέραις πρὸ Παναθηναίων τῶν τῷ μεγάλῳ. τὰς δὲ ξυνθήκας τὰς περὶ τῶν σπουδῶν καὶ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἀναγράψαι ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἐν πόλει, Ἀργείους δὲ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ ἱερῷ, Μαντινέας δὲ ἐν τοῦ Διὶς τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· καταθέντων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίασι στήλην χαλκῆν κοινῇ Ὀλυμπίοις τοῖς νυνί. ἐὰν δέ τι δοκῇ ἅμεινον εἶναι ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις προσθεῖναι πρὸς τοῖς ξυγκειμένοις, ὅτι ἀν δόξῃ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπάσαις κοινῇ βουλευομέναις, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι.

48 Αἱ μὲν σπουδαὶ καὶ αἱ ξυμμαχίαι οὐτως ἐγένοντο, καὶ αἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἀπείρηντο τούτου ἔνεκα οὐδὲ ὑφ' ἔτερων. Κορίνθιοι δέ, Ἀργείων ὄντες ξυμμαχοί, οὐκ ἐσῆλθον ἐστὶ αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ γενομένης πρὸ τούτου Ἡλείους καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Μαντινεῦσι ξυμμαχίας τοῖς αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν καὶ

The Corinthians refuse  
to join, and  
incline to-  
wards Spar-  
ta.

εἰρήνην ἄγειν, οὐ ξυνώμοσαν, ἀρκεῦν δ' ἔφασαν σφίσι τὴν πρώτην γενομένην ἐπιμαχίαν, ἀλλήλοις βοηθεῦν, ξυνεπιστρατεύειν δὲ μηδενὶ. οἱ μὲν <sup>ιο</sup> Κορίνθιοι οὕτως ἀπέστησαν τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πάλιν τὴν γνώμην εἶχον.

<sup>Exclusion of  
the Lacedae-  
monians  
from the  
Olympian  
festival.</sup> 49     'Ολύμπια δ' ἐγένετο τοῦ θέρους τούτου, οἷς Ἀνδροσθένης Ἀρκὰς παγκράτιον τὸ πρῶτον ἐνίκα· καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ιεροῦ ὑπὸ 'Ηλείων εἴρχθησαν ώστε μὴ θύειν μηδ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐκτίνοντες τὴν δίκην <sup>5</sup> αὐτοῖς, ἦν ἐν τῷ Ὁλυμπιακῷ νόμῳ 'Ηλεῖοι κατεδικάσαντο αὐτῶν, φάσκοντες (ἐს) σφᾶς ἐπὶ Φύρκου τε τεῖχος ὅπλα ἐπενεγκεῖν καὶ ἐς Λέπρεον αὐτῶν ὁπλίτας ἐν ταῖς Ὁλυμπιακαῖς σπουδαῖς ἐσπέμψαι.  
<sup>2</sup> ή δὲ καταδίκη δισχίλιαι μνᾶι ἦσαν, κατὰ τὸν <sup>10</sup> ὁπλίτην ἕκαστον δύο μνᾶ, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος ἔχει. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἀντέλεγον μὴ δικαίως σφῶν καταδεδικάσθαι, λέγοντες μὴ ἐπηγγέλθαι πω ἐς Λακεδαιμονα τὰς σπουδάς, ὅτ'  
<sup>3</sup> ἐσέπεμψαν τοὺς ὁπλίτας. 'Ηλεῖοι δὲ τὴν παρ' <sup>15</sup> αὐτοῖς ἐκεχειρίαν ἦδη ἔφασαν εἶναι—πρώτοις γὰρ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγέλλουσιν—καὶ ἡσυχαζόντων σφῶν καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένων, ώς ἐν σπουδαῖς, αὐτοὺς λαθεῦν ἀδικήσαντας. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπελάμβανον οὐ χρεὼν εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐπαγγεῖλαι <sup>20</sup> ἐς Λακεδαιμονα, εἰ ἀδικεῖν γε ἦδη ἐνόμιζον αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ώς νομίζοντας τοῦτο δρᾶσαι, καὶ ὅπλα οὐδαμόσε <sup>25</sup> ἔτι αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκεῖν. 'Ηλεῖοι δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου εἶχοντο, ώς μὲν οὐκ ἀδικοῦσι μὴ ἀν-

πεισθῆναι, εἰ δὲ βούλονται σφίσι Λέπρεον ἀποδοῦνται, τό τε αὐτῶν μέρος ἀφιέναι τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ ὁ 50 τῷ θεῷ γίγνεται αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐκτίσειν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐσήκουον, αὐθις τάδε ἡξίουν, Λεπρεον μὲν μὴ ἀποδοῦνται, εἰ μὴ βούλονται, ἀναβάντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, ἐπειδὴ προθυμοῦνται χρῆσθαι τῷ ἵερῳ, ἀπομόσαι ἐναντίον τῶν 5 'Ελλήνων ἥ μὴν ἀποδώσειν ὕστερον τὴν καταδίκην.

· ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἥθελον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν εἴργοντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ, θυσίας καὶ ἀγώνων, καὶ οἴκοι ἔθνουν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι "Ελληνες ἔθεώρουν πλὴν Λεπρεάτων. ὅμως δὲ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι δεδιώτες μὴ βίᾳ θύσωσι, 10 ξὺν ὅπλοις τῶν νεωτέρων φυλακὴν εἰχον· ἥλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς, χλίοι ἑκατέρων, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἵππης, οἱ ἐν "Αργει ὑπέμενον τὴν 15 ἑορτήν. δέος δ' ἐγένετο τῇ πανηγύρει μέγα μὴ ξὺν ὅπλοις ἔλθωσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λίχας ὁ Ἀρκεσιλάου, Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥαβδούχων πληγὰς ἔλαβεν, ὅτι νικῶντος τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ζεύγους καὶ ἀνακηρυχθέντος Βοιωτῶν δημοσίου κατὰ τὴν οὐκ ἔξουσίαν τῆς ἀγωνίσεως, προελθὼν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀνέδησε τὸν 20 ἥνιοχον, Βουλόμενος δηλῶσαι ὅτι ἑαυτοῦ ἦν τὸ ἄρμα· ὥστε πολλῷ δὴ μᾶλλον ἐπεφόβηντο πάντες καὶ ἐδόκει τι νέον ἔσεσθαι. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἤσύχασάν τε καὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ αὐτοῖς οὕτω διῆλθεν. ἐς δὲ Κόρινθον μετὰ τὰ Ὀλύμπια Ἀργεῖοι τε καὶ 25 οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀφίκοντο δεησόμενοι αὐτῶν παρὰ σφᾶς ἔλθεῖν. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις ἔτυχον παρόντες, καὶ πολλῶν λόγων γενομένων τέλος

οὐδὲν ἐπράχθη, ἀλλὰ σεισμοῦ γενομένου διελύθησαν ἔκαστοι ἐπ' οἴκου. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα. 30

51 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Ἡρακλεώτας  
Heraclea in Trachis attacked by the neighbouring tribes. τοῖς ἐν Τραχῖνι μάχη ἐγένετο πρὸς Αἰνιᾶ-  
 νας καὶ Δόλοπας καὶ Μηλιέας καὶ Θεσ-  
 σαλῶν τινας. πρόσοικοντα γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη  
 ταῦτα τῇ πόλει πολέμια ἦν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τινὶ 5  
 γῆ ἡ τῇ τούτων τὸ χωρίον ἐτειχίσθη. καὶ εὐθὺς  
 τε καθισταμένη τῇ πόλει ἡναντιοῦντο, ἐς ὅσον ἐδύ-  
 ναντο φθείροντες, καὶ τότε τῇ μάχῃ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς  
 Ἡρακλεώτας, καὶ Ξενάρης ὁ Κνίδιος Λακεδαι-  
 μόνιος ἄρχων αὐτῶν ἀπέθανε, διεφθάρησαν δὲ 10  
 καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν  
 ἐτελεύτα καὶ δωδέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

52 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου  
B.C. 419. Heraclia occupied by the Boeotians. Alcibiades goes into Peloponnesus. τὴν Ἡράκλειαν, ὡς μετὰ τὴν μάχην κακῶς  
 ἐφθείρετο, Βοιωτοὶ παρέλαβον, καὶ Ἡγη-  
 σιππίδαν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον ὡς οὐ καλῶς  
 ἄρχοντα ἔξεπεμψαν. δείσαντες δὲ παρέ- 5  
 λαβον τὸ χωρίον μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ  
 κατὰ Πελοπόννησον θορυβουμένων Ἀθηναῖοι λά-  
 βωσιν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέντοι ὡργίζοντο αὐτοῖς.

2 Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίον,  
 στρατηγὸς ὧν Ἀθηναίων, Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν ξυμμά- 10  
 χων ξυμπρασσόντων, ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον μετ' ὀλίγων Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ τῶν  
 αὐτόθεν ξυμμάχων παραλαβών, τά τε ἄλλα ξυγ-  
 καθίστη περὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν διαπορευόμενος Πελο- 15  
 πόνησον τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ Πατρέας τε τείχη καθεῖ-  
 ναι ἔπεισεν ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔτερον διενοεῖτο

τειχίσαι ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥιῷ τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ. Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ οἱς ἦν ἐν βλάβῃ τειχισθὲν βοηθήσαντες διεκώλυσαν.

- 53 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ Ἀργείοις πόλεμος ἐγένετο, προφάσει μὲν περὶ τοῦ θύματος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθαέως, ὃ δέον ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον ὑπὲρ  
Quarrel be-  
tween Argos  
and Epidau-  
rus.
- βοταμίων Ἐπιδαύριοι — κυριώτατοι δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ 5  
 ἡσαν Ἀργεῖοι — ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον τῷ τε Ἀλκιβιάδῃ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις προσλαβεῖν, ἦν δύνωνται, τῆς τε Κορίνθου ἔνεκα ἡσυχίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης βραχυτέραν ἔσεσθαι τὴν βοήθειαν ἡ Σκύλλαιον περιπλεῦν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. παρεσκευάζοντο οὖν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ως αὐτοὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον διὰ τοῦ θύματος τὴν ἔσπραξιν 10  
 54 ἐσβαλοῦντες. ἐξεστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους πανδημεὶ ἐς Λεῦκτρα τῆς ἑαυτῶν μεθορίας πρὸς τὸ Δύκαιον, Ἀγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλέως ἥγουμένου· ἥδει δὲ οὐδεὶς ὅποι στρατεύουσιν, 5  
 2 οὐδὲ αἱ πόλεις ἐξ ὧν ἐπέμφθησαν. ως δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ διαβατήρια θυομένοις οὐ προύχωρει, αὐτοί τε ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις περιήγγειλαν μετὰ τὸν μέλλοντα — Καρνείος δ' ἦν μήν, ιερομήνια Δωριεῦσι — παρασκευάζεσθαι ως στρατεύοντος. Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἀναχωρησάντων αὐτῶν τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ Καρνείου μηνὸς ἐξελθόντες τετράδι φθίνοντος, καὶ ἅγοντες τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν καὶ ἐδήσουν. Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπεκαλοῦντο· ὡν 15
- The Argives  
invade the  
territory of  
Epidaurus.

τινες οἱ μὲν τὸν μῆνα προύφασίσαντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς  
 55 μεθορίαν τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας ἐλθόντες ἡσύχαζον. καὶ  
 καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαύρῳ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν  
 ἐς Μαντίνειαν πρεσβεῖαι ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ξυνῆλ-  
 θον, Ἀθηναίων παρακαλεσάντων. καὶ γιγνομένων  
 λόγων Εὐφαμίδας ὁ Κορίνθιος οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς λόγους 5  
 τοῖς ἔργοις ὄμολογεῖν· σφεῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ εἰρήνης  
 ξυγκαθῆσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Ἐπιδαυρίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμά-  
 χους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους μεθ' ὅπλων ἀντιτετάχθαι·  
 2 διαλῦσαι οὖν πρῶτον χρῆναι ἀφ' ἑκατέρων ἐλθόντας  
 τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ οὕτω πάλιν λέγειν περὶ τῆς 10  
 εἰρήνης. καὶ πεισθέντες ὥχοντο καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους  
 ἀπήγαγον ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας. ὕστερον δὲ ἐς τὸ  
 αὐτὸ ξυνελθόντες οὐδὲ ὡς ἐδυνήθησαν ξυμβῆναι,  
 3 ἀλλ' οἱ Ἀργεῖοι πάλιν ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν ἐσέβαλον  
 καὶ ἐδήσουν. ἔξεστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαι- 15  
 μόνιοι ἐς Καρύας, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα τὰ δια-  
 βατήρια αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, ἐπανεχώρησαν. Ἀργεῖοι  
 δέ, τεμόντες τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας ὡς τὸ τρίτον μέρος,  
 ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου. καὶ Ἀθηναίων αὐτοῖς χίλιοι  
 ἐβοήθησαν ὄπλιται καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης στρατηγός 20  
 πυθόμενοι<sup>1</sup> τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔξεστρατεῦσθαι,  
 καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι αὐτῶν ἔδει, ἀπῆλθον. καὶ τὸ  
 θέρος οὕτω διῆλθεν.

56 Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Λακεδαιμόνιοι,  
 Desultory warfare between Argos and Epidaurus. λαθόντες Ἀθηναίους, φρουρούς τε τρια-  
 κοσίους καὶ Ἀγησιππίδαν ἄρχοντα κατὰ θύλασσαν ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐσέπεμψαν.  
 2 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐλθόντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐπεκάλουν 5  
 δτι, γεγραμμένον ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν

έκάστους μὴ ἔân πολεμίους διῖέναι, ἔάσειαν κατὰ θάλασσαν παραπλεῦσαι· καὶ εἰ μὴ κάκεῦοι ἐς Πύλον κομιοῦσιν ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ Εἴλωτας, ἀδικήσεσθαι αὐτοῖ. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, Ἀλκιβιάδου πείσαντος, τῇ μὲν Λακωνικῇ στήλῃ ὑπέγραψαν ὅτι οὐκ ἐνέμειναν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ὄρκοις, ἐς δὲ Πύλον ἐκόμισαν τοὺς ἐκ Κρανίων Εἴλωτας ληῆσθαι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἡσύχαζον.

τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα τοῦτον πολεμούντων Ἀργείων καὶ <sup>15</sup> Ἐπιδαυρίων μάχη μὲν οὐδεμίᾳ ἐγένετο ἐκ παρασκευῆς, ἐνέδραι δὲ καὶ καταδρομαί, ἐν αἷς ὡς <sup>20</sup> τύχοιεν ἐκατέρων τινὲς διεφθείροντο· καὶ τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος πρὸς ἔαρ ἥδη κλίμακας ἔχοντες οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἥλθον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον, ὡς <sup>25</sup> ἐρήμου οὔσης διὰ τὸν πόλεμον βίᾳ αἱρήσοντες· καὶ ἀπρακτοὶ ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα καὶ τρίτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

57 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους μεσοῦντος Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς αἵτοῖς οἵ τε Ἐπιδαύριοι <sup>5</sup>  
 ξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἐταλαιπώρουν καὶ τάλλα  
 ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τὰ μὲν ἀφειστήκει τὰ  
 δ' οὐ καλῶς εἶχεν, νομίσαντες, εἰ μὴ προ-  
 καταλήψονται ἐν τάχει, ἐπὶ πλέον χωρήσεσθαι  
 αὐτά, ἐστράτευον αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ Εἴλωτες πανδημεὶ  
 ἐπ' Ἀργος· ἥγεῖτο δὲ Ἀγισ ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου, Λακε-  
 δαιμονίων βασιλεύς. ξυνεστράτευον δ' αὐτοῖς  
 Τεγεᾶται καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδων Λακεδαιμονίοις <sup>10</sup>  
 ξύμμαχοι ἦσαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Πελοποννήσου  
 ξύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν ἐς Φλιοῦντα ξυνελέγοντο,  
 Βοιωτοὶ μὲν πεντακισχίλιοι ὄπλιται καὶ τοσοῦτοι

B.C. 418. The  
Lacedaemo-  
nians under  
Agis invade  
Argolis in  
full force.

ψιλοὶ καὶ ἵππης πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἄμιτποι ἔσοι,  
Κορίνθιοι δὲ δισχίλιοι ὅπλῖται, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὡς <sup>15</sup>  
ἔκαστοι, Φλιάσιοι δὲ πανστρατιᾶ. ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκεί-  
νων ἦν τὸ στράτευμα.

58      Ἀργεῖοι δὲ προαισθόμενοι <sup>1</sup>τό τε πρῶτον τὴν  
 Movements      παρασκευὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ ἐπει-  
 of Agis and      δὴ ἐς τὸν Φλιοῦντα βουλόμενοι τοῖς  
 his allies.      ἄλλοις προσμίξαι ἔχώρουν, τότε δὴ ἐξεστράτευσαν  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβοήθησαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Μαντινῆς <sup>5</sup>  
 ἔχοντες τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους καὶ Ἡλείων  
<sup>2</sup> τρισχίλιοι ὅπλῖται. καὶ προϊόντες ἀπαντᾶσι τοῖς  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν Μεθυδρίῳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας καὶ  
 καταλαμβάνουσιν ἑκάτεροι λόφον. καὶ οἱ μὲν  
 Ἀργεῖοι ώς μεμονωμένοις τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις <sup>10</sup>  
 παρεσκευάζοντο μάχεσθαι, ὁ δὲ Ἀγις τῆς νυκτὸς  
 ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν καὶ λαθὼν ἐπορεύετο ἐς  
<sup>3</sup> Φλιοῦντα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους. καὶ οἱ  
 Ἀργεῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἄμα ἕω ἔχώρουν πρῶτον μὲν  
 ἐς Ἀργος, ἐπειτα ἢ προσεδέχοντο τοὺς Λακεδαι- <sup>15</sup>  
 μονίους μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων καταβήσεσθαι, τὴν  
 κατὰ Νεμέαν ὁδὸν. Ἀγις δὲ ταύτην μέν, ἦν  
 προσεδέχοντο, οὐκ ἐτράπετο, παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς  
<sup>4</sup> Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀρκάσι καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίοις  
 ἄλλην ἔχώρησε χαλεπήν, καὶ κατέβη ἐς τὸ Ἀρ- <sup>20</sup>  
 γείων πεδίον· καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Πελληνῆς καὶ  
 Φλιάσιοι <sup>2</sup> ὄρθιον ἐτέραν ἐπορεύοντο· τοῖς δὲ Βοιω-  
 τοῖς καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Σικυωνίοις εἵρητο τὴν ἐπὶ<sup>25</sup>  
 Νεμέας ὁδὸν καταβαίνειν, ἢ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐκάθηντο,  
 ὅπως, εἰ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴόντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον  
 Βοηθοῦεν, ἐφεπόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις χρώντο.

59 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω διατάξας καὶ ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἔδήσεν Σάμινθόν τε καὶ ἄλλα· οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι γνόντες ἐβοήθουν ἡμέρας ἥδη ἐκ τῆς Νεμέας, καὶ περιτυχόντες τῷ Φλιασίων καὶ Κορινθίων στρατοπέδῳ τῶν μὲν Φλιασίων ὀλίγους ἀπέκτειναν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων αὐτοὶ οὐ πολλῷ πλείους διεφθάρησαν. An engagement imminent. Two Argive citizens negotiate with Agis. 5  
 2 καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ οἱ Μεγαρῆς καὶ οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἔχώρουν, ὥσπερ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ τῆς Νεμέας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους οὐκέτι κατέλαβον, ἀλλὰ καταβάντες, ὡς ἐώρων τὰ ἑαυτῶν δηούμενα, ἐς μάχην παρετάσσοντο. ἀντιπαρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀπειλημμένοι ἤσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰργον τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, καθύπερθεν 15 δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Πελληνῆς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Νεμέας Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς. ἵπποι δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ παρῆσαν· οὐ γάρ πω οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μόνοι τῶν ξυμμάχων ἥκουν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων οὐχ οὕτω 20 δεινὸν τὸ παρὸν ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλ’ ἐν καλῷ ἔδόκει ἡ μάχη ἐσεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπειληφέντας ναὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῷ τε καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει. τῶν δὲ Ἀργείων δύο ἄνδρες, Θράσυλλός τε, τῶν πέντε στρατηγῶν εἰς ὅν, καὶ Ἀλκίφρων, πρόξενος Λακεδαιμονίων, ἥδη τῶν στρατοπέδων ὅσον οὐ ξυνιόντων προσελθόντες Ἀγιδι διελεγέσθην μὴ ποιεῦν μάχην. ἔτοιμοις γὰρ εἶναι Ἀργείους δίκας δοῦναι καὶ δέξασθαι ἵσας καὶ ὁμοίας, εἴ τι ἐπικαλοῦσιν Ἀργείους Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰρήνην 25

60 ἄγειν σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντες τῶν Ἀργείων ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ οὐ τοῦ πλήθους κελεύσαντος εἶπον· καὶ ὁ Ἀγις δεξάμενος τοὺς λόγους αὐτός, καὶ οὐ μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων οὐδὲ αὐτὸς 5 βουλευσάμενος ἀλλ' ἡ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ κοινώσας τῶν ἐν τέλει ξυστρατευομένων, σπένδεται τέσσαρας μῆνας ἐν οἷς ἔδει ἐπιτελέσαι αὐτοὺς τὰ ρηθέντα.

καὶ ἀπήγαγε τὸν στρατὸν εὐθύς, οὐδενὶ φράσας τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ 10 ξύμμαχοι εἴποντο μὲν ἀς ἥγεῖτο διὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐν αἵτιᾳ δ' εἶχον κατ' ἄλλήλους πολλῇ τὸν Ἀγιν, νομίζοντες ἐν καλῷ παρατυχὸν σφίσι ξυμβαλεῖν καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῶν ἀποκεκλημένων καὶ ὑπὸ 15 ἵππεων καὶ πεζῶν οὐδὲν δράσαντες ἀξιον τῆς 15 παρασκευῆς ἀπιέναι. στρατόπεδον γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο κάλλιστον Ἐλληνικὸν τῶν μέχρι τοῦτο ξυνῆλθεν. ὥφθη δὲ μάλιστα ἕως ἔτι ἦν ἀθρόον ἐν Νεμέᾳ, ἐν φ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε πανστρατιᾷ ἥσαν καὶ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ 20 Πελληνῆς καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες λόγαδες ἀφ' ἐκάστων, ἀξιόμαχοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι οὐ τῇ Ἀργείων μόνον ξυμμαχίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ 25 ἄλλῃ ἔτι προσγενομένῃ. τὸ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδον οὕτως ἐν αἵτιᾳ ἔχοντες τὸν Ἀγιν ἀνεχώρουν τε καὶ διελύθησαν ἐπ' οἴκου ἔκαστοι. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔτι ἐν πολλῷ πλείονι αἵτιᾳ εἶχον τοὺς σπεισαμένους ἄνευ τοῦ πλήθους, νομίζοντες κάκεῖνοι μὴ ἀν σφίσι ποτὲ κάλλιον παρασχὸν Λακεδαιμονίους διαπεφευγέναι. πρός τε γὰρ τῇ σφετέρᾳ 30

Agis grants  
a truce and  
withdraws  
his army.  
Disgust of  
both sides at  
the arrange-  
ment.

πόλει καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ξυμμάχων τὸν ἄγωνα ἀν γίγνεσθαι. τόν τε Θράσυλλον ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐν τῷ Χαράδρῳ, οὐπερ τὰς ἀπὸ στρατείας δίκας πρὶν ἐσιέναι κρίνουσιν, ἥρξαντο λεύειν. ὁ δὲ καταφυγὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Βωμὸν περιγίγνεται· τὰ 35 μέντοι χρήματα ἐδήμευσαν αὐτοῦ.

61 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀθηναίων βοηθησάντων χιλίων ὄπλιτῶν καὶ τριακοσίων ἵππεων, ὡν ἐστρατήγουν Λάχης καὶ Νικόστρατος, οἱ Ἀργεῖοι—ὅμως γὰρ τὰς σπουδὰς ἄκνουν λῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους—ἀπιέναι ἐκέλευνον αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον οὐ προσῆγον βουλομένους χρηματίσαι, πρὶν ἡ Μαντινῆς καὶ Ἡλεῖοι, ἔτι γὰρ παρῆσαν, κατηνάγκασαν δεόμενοι. καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἄλκιβιάδου πρεσβευτοῦ παρόντος, ἐν τε τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ ξυμμάχοις ταῦτα, δτι οὐκ ὅρθως αἱ σπουδαὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων καὶ γένοιντο, καὶ νῦν, ἐν καιρῷ γὰρ παρεῖναι σφεῖς, ἅπτεσθαι χρῆναι τοῦ πολέμου. 3 καὶ πείσαντες ἐκ τῶν λόγων τὸν ξυμμάχους εὐθὺς ἔχώρουν ἐπὶ Ὁρχομενὸν τὸν Ἀρκαδικὸν πάντες 15 πλὴν Ἀργείων· οὗτοι δὲ ὅμως καὶ πεισθέντες ὑπελείποντο πρώτον, ἔπειτα δὲ ὑστερον καὶ οὗτοι ἦλθον. καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι τὸν Ὁρχομενὸν πάντες ἐπολιόρκουν καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο, βουλόμενοι ἄλλως τε προσγενέσθαι σφίσι καὶ 20 ὅμηροι ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἥσαν αὐτόθι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κείμενοι. οἱ δὲ Ὁρχομένιοι δείσαντες τὴν τε τοῦ τείχους ἀσθένειαν καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθει, μὴ προαπόλων-

The Athenians  
and allies  
invade  
Arcadia and  
reduce Or-  
chomenos.

5

ται, ξυνέβησαν ὥστε ξύμμαχοί τε εἶναι καὶ <sup>25</sup>  
δομήρους σφῶν τε αὐτῶν δοῦναι Μαντινεῦσι καὶ  
62 οὓς κατέθεντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι παραδοῦναι. μετὰ

They prepare  
to attack Te-  
gea. δὲ τοῦτο ἔχοντες ἥδη τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν  
έβουλεύοντο οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐφ' ὅ τι χρὴ  
πρῶτον ιέναι τὰν λοιπῶν. καὶ Ἡλεῖοι μὲν ἐπὶ<sup>5</sup>  
Λέπρεον ἐκέλευνον, Μαντινῆς δὲ ἐπὶ Τεγέαν· καὶ  
προσέθεντο οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Μαντι-  
νεῦσιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἡλεῖοι ὀργισθέντες ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ<sup>10</sup>  
Λέπρεον ἐψηφίσαντο ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, οἱ δὲ  
ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι παρεσκευάζοντο ἐν τῇ Μαντινείᾳ  
ώς ἐπὶ Τέγεαν ἰόντες. καὶ τινες αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτῶν <sup>15</sup>  
Τεγεατῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνεδίδοσαν τὰ πράγματα.

✓ 63 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ<sup>"</sup>Αργους

Proceedings  
at Lacedae-  
mon in re-  
spect of Agis. τὰς τετραμήνους σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι,  
"Αγιν ἐν μεγάλῃ αἰτίᾳ εἶχον οὐ χειρωσά-<sup>5</sup>  
μενον σφίσιν "Αργος, παρασχὸν καλῶς  
ώς οὕπω πρότερον αὐτοὶ ἐνόμιζον· ἀθρόους γὰρ  
τοσούτους ξυμμάχους καὶ τοιούτους οὐ ράδιον εἶναι  
λαβεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ ἡγγέλλετο  
ἔαλωκέναι, πολλῷ δὴ μᾶλλον ἔχαλέπαινον καὶ  
έβούλευον εὐθὺς ὑπ' ὄργης παρὰ τὸν τρόπον τὸν  
ἐαυτῶν, ώς χρὴ τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κατασκάψαι <sup>10</sup>  
καὶ δέκα μυριάσι δραχμῶν ζημιώσαι. ὁ δὲ παρη-  
τεῦτο μηδὲν τούτων δρᾶν, ἔργῳ γὰρ ἀγαθῷ ρύσεσθαι  
τὰς αἰτίας στρατευσάμενος, ἢ τότε ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ὃ  
τι βούλονται. οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν ζημίαν καὶ τὴν κατα-  
σκαφὴν ἐπέσχον, νόμον δὲ ἔθεντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι, <sup>15</sup>  
ὅς οὕπω πρότερον ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς· δέκα γὰρ ἄνδρας  
Σπαρτιατῶν προσείλοντο αὐτῷ ξυμβούλους, ἄνευ

ών μὴ κύριον είναι ἀπάγειν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς  
 64 πόλεως. ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἀφικνεῖται αὐτοῖς  
 ἀγγελία παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκ Τεγέας  
 ὅτι, εἰ μὴ παρέσονται ἐν τάχει, ἀποστή-  
 σεται αὐτῶν Τέγεα πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ  
 τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἀφέστηκεν.  
 The Lace-  
 daemonians  
 invade the  
 territory of  
 Mantinea,  
 hearing of  
 the attack on  
 Tegea.  
 5

ἐνταῦθα δὴ βοήθεια τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων γίγνεται  
 αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Εἰλώτων πανδημεὶ ὄξεῖα καὶ οἴα  
 οὐπω πρότερον. ἔχώρουν δὲ ἐς Ὁρέσθειον τῆς  
 Μαιναλίας· καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀρκάδων σφετέροις οὐσι  
 ξυμμάχοις προεῖπον ἀθροισθεῖσιν ἵέναι κατὰ πόδας 10  
 αὐτῶν ἐς Τέγεαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Ὁρεσ-  
 θείου πάντες ἐλθόντες, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τὸ ἕκτον μέρος  
 σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀποπέμψαντες ἐπ' οἴκου, ἐν φέτῳ  
 πρεσβύτερίν τε καὶ τὸ νεώτερον ἦν, ὥστε τὰ οἴκοι  
 φρουρεῖν, τῷ λοιπῷ στρατεύματι ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς 15  
 Τέγεαν. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀπ'  
 Ἀρκάδων παρῆσαν. πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν  
 Κόρινθον καὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκέας καὶ Λοκρούς,  
 βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες κατὰ τάχος ἐς Μαντίνειαν.  
 ἀλλὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔξ οὐδίγου τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ οὐ ράδιον 20  
 ἦν μη ἀθρόοις καὶ ἀλλήλους περιμείνασι διελθεῖν  
 τὴν πολεμίαν· ξυνέκλησε γάρ διὰ μέσου· δύμας δὲ  
 ηπεύγοντο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς  
 παρόντας Ἀρκάδων ξυμμάχους ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν  
 Μαντινικήν, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι πρὸς τῷ 25  
 Ἡρακλείῳ ἐδήσουν τὴν γῆν.

65 Οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ώς εἶδον αὐτούς,  
 καταλαβόντες χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν καὶ δυσπρόσοδον  
 παρετάξαντο ώς ἐς μάχην. καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι

2 εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπήεσαν· καὶ μέχρι μὲν λίθου καὶ  
 ἀκοντίου βολῆς ἔχωρησαν, ἕπειτα τῶν 5  
 πρεσβυτέρων τις Ἀγιδι ἐπεβόησεν, ὁρῶν  
 πρὸς χωρίον καρτερὸν ἰόντας σφᾶς, ὅτι  
 διανοεῖται κακὸν κακῷ ιᾶσθαι, δηλῶν τῆς  
 ἔξ "Αργους ἐπαιτίου ἀναχωρήσεως τὴν παροῦσαν  
 ἄκαιρον προθυμίαν ἀνάληψιν βουλομένην εἶναι. 10  
 3 ὁ δέ, εἴτε καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐπιβόημα εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλο  
τι ἡ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δόξαν ἔξαιρης πάλιν τὸ στρά-  
 τέυμα κατὰ τάχος πρὶν ξυμμίξαι ἀπῆγεν. καὶ  
 ἀφικόμενος πρὸς τὴν Τεγεāτιν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξέτρεπεν  
 ἐς τὴν Μαντινικήν, περὶ οὐπερ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ βλάπ- 15  
τοντος ὁποτέρωσε ἀν ἐσπίπτη Μαντινῆς καὶ Τεγεā-  
 4 ται πολεμοῦσιν. ἐβούλετο δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου  
 βοηθοῦντας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκτροπήν, ἐπειδὰν  
 πίθωνται, καταβιβάσαι τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς  
 ξυμμάχους, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄμαλῷ τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι. 20  
 5 καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην μείνας αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ  
 ὕδωρ ἐξέτρεπεν· οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὸ  
 μὲν πρῶτον καταπλαγέντες τῇ ἔξ ὀλίγου αἰφνιδίῳ  
 6 αὐτῶν ἀναχωρήσει οὐκ εἰχον ὅ τι εἰκάσωσιν· εἰτ'  
 ἐπειδὴ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐκεῖνοί τε ἀπέκρυψαν καὶ 25  
 σφεῖς ἡσύχαζον καὶ οὐκ ἐπηκολούθουν, ἐνταῦθα  
 τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατηγοὺς αὐθις ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἰχον, τό τε  
 πρότερον καλῶς ληφθέντας πρὸς Ἀργεῖ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους ἀφεθῆναι, καὶ νῦν ὅτι ἀποδιδράσκοντας  
 οὐδεὶς ἐπιδιώκει, ἀλλὰ καθ' ησυχίαν οἱ μὲν σώζον- 30  
 7 ται σφεῖς δὲ προδίδονται. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἐθορυ-  
 βήθησαν μὲν τὸ παραυτίκα, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπάγουσιν  
 αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καὶ προελθόντες ἐς τὸ

όμαλὸν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ώς ἰόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους.

35

- 66 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἵ τε Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι <sup>Engagement imminent.</sup> ξυνετάξαντο, ώς ἔμελλον μαχεῖσθαι, ἦν περιτύχωσιν· οἵ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον πάλιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ στρατόπεδον ἰόντες ὄρῳ δι' ὀλίγου τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν τάξει τε ἡδη πάντας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου προεληλυθότας. μάλιστα δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐς ὃ ἐμέμνητο, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐξεπλάγησαν.  
 2 διὰ βραχείας γὰρ μελλήσεως ἡ παρασκευὴ αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνετο, καὶ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καθίσταντο ἐς τούς κόσμον τὸν ἑαυτῶν, Ἀγιδος τοῦ βασιλέως ἔκαστα  
 3 ἐξηγουμένου κατὰ τὸν νόμον. βασιλέως γὰρ ἄγοντος ὑπ' ἐκείνου πάντα ἄρχεται, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολεμάρχοις αὐτὸς φράζει τὸ δέον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοῖς πεντηκοντήρσιν, αὐθις δ' οὗτοι  
 15 τοῖς ἐνωμοτάρχαις καὶ οὗτοι τῇ ἐνωμοτίᾳ. καὶ αἱ παραγγέλσεις, ἦν τι βοϊλωνται, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ χωροῦσι καὶ ταχεῖαι ἐπέρχονται· σχεδὸν γάρ τι πᾶν πλὴν ὀλίγου τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄρχοντες ἄρχόντων εἰσί, καὶ τὸ ἐπιμελὲς  
 67 τοῦ δρωμένου πολλοῖς προσήκει. τύτε δὲ κέρας μὲν εὐώνυμον Σκιρῖται αὐτοῖς καθίσταντο, ἀεὶ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν μόνοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες· παρὰ δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης Βρασίδειοι στρατιώται καὶ νεοδα-  
 5 μώδεις μετ' αὐτῶν· ἐπειτ' ἡδη Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὶ ἐξῆς καθίστασαν τοὺς λόχους καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς Ἀρκάδων Ἡραιῆς, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Μαινάλιοι, καὶ

Order of battle on both sides.

ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρᾳ Τεγεᾶται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὀλίγοι, τὸ ἔσχατον ἔχοντες, καὶ οἱ ἵππης αὐτῶν ἐφ' <sup>10</sup> ἑκατέρῳ τῷ κέρᾳ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὕτως ἐτάξαντο· οἱ δὲ ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς δεξιὸν μὲν κέρας Μαντινῆς εἰχον, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων τὸ ἔργον ἐγίγνετο, παρὰ δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ξύμμαχοι Ἀρκάδων ἦσαν, ἐπειτα Ἀργείων οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες, οἵς ή πόλις ἐκ <sup>15</sup> πολλοῦ ἀσκησιν τῶν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον δημοσίᾳ παρεῖχεν, καὶ ἔχόμενοι αὐτῶν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν, Κλεωναῖοι καὶ Ὀρνεᾶται, ἐπειτα Ἀθηναῖοι ἔσχατοι τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔχοντες καὶ ἵππης μετ' αὐτῶν οἱ οἰκεῖοι.

68      Τάξις μὲν ἥδε καὶ παρασκευὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἦν, τὸ   
Rough computation of  
the numbers. δὲ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μεῖ-  
 Ζον ἐφάνη. ἀριθμὸν δὲ γράψαι, ή καθ'  
 ἑκάστους ἑκατέρων ἡ ξύμπαντας, οὐκ ἀν ἐδυνάμην  
 ἀκριβῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων πλῆθος διὰ <sup>5</sup>  
 τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτὸν ἡγνοεῖτο, τῶν δ' αὖ διὰ  
 τὸ ἀνθρώπειον κομπώδες ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα πλήθη ἡ πισ-  
 τεῦτο. ἐκ μέντοι τοιοῦδε λογισμοῦ ἔξεστί τῷ  
 σκοπεῖν τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τότε παραγενόμενον  
 πλῆθος. λόχοι μὲν γὰρ ἐμάχοντο ἐπτὰ ἄνευ Σκι- <sup>10</sup>  
 ριτῶν, ὄντων ἔξακοσίων, ἐν δὲ ἑκάστῳ λόχῳ πεν-  
 τηκοστύες ἦσαν τέσσαρες καὶ ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ  
 ἐνωμοτίαι τέσσαρες, τῆς τε ἐνωμοτίας ἐμάχοντο  
 ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ζυγῷ τέσσαρες· ἐπὶ δὲ βάθος ἐτάξαντο  
 μὲν οὐ πάντες ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ὡς λοχαγὸς ἕκαστος <sup>15</sup>  
 ἐβούλετο, ἐπὶ πᾶν δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ ὀκτώ. παρὰ  
 δὲ ἄπαν πλὴν Σκιριτῶν τετρακόσιοι καὶ δυοῖν  
 δέοντες πεντήκοντα ἄνδρες ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἦν.

69 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυνιέναι ἔμελλον ἥδη, ἐνταῦθα καὶ παραινέσεις καθ' ἑκάστους ἵπο τῶν <sup>Addressees of the generals.</sup> οἰκείων στρατηγῶν τοιαίδε ἐγίγνοντο, Μαντινεῦσι μὲν ὅτι ὑπέρ τε πατρίδος ἡ μάχη ἔσται καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς ὅμα καὶ δουλείας, τὴν μὲν μὴ πειρασμένοις ἀφαιρεθῆναι, τῆς δὲ μὴ αὐθις πειρᾶσθαι· Ἀργείοις δὲ ὑπέρ τῆς τε παλαιᾶς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ποτὲ ἴσομοιρίας μὴ διὰ παντὸς στερισκομένους ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ὅμα ἔχθροὺς καὶ ἀστυγείτονας ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἀδικημάτων ἀμύνασθαι· τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις καλὸν εἶναι μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ξυμμάχων ἀγωνιζομένους μηδενὸς λείπεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Λακεδαιμονίους νικήσαντες τὴν τε ἀρχὴν βεβαιοτέραν καὶ μείζω ἔξουσιν, καὶ οὐ μὴ ποτέ τις αὐτοῖς <sup>15</sup> ἄλλος ἐς τὴν γῆν ἔλθῃ· τοῖς μὲν Ἀργείοις καὶ ξυμμάχοις τοιαῦτα παρηνέθη, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καθ' ἑκάστους τε καὶ μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὡν ἡπίσταντο τὴν παρακέλευσιν τῆς μνήμης ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν ἐποιοῦντο, εἰδότες ἔργων <sup>20</sup> ἐκ πολλοῦ μελέτην πλείω σώζουσαν ἡ λόγων δι' 70 ὀλίγου καλῶς ῥηθεῖσαν παραίνεσιν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ ξύνοδος ἦν, Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐντόνως καὶ ὀργῇ χωροῦντες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ βραδέως καὶ ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν πολλῶν <sup>1</sup> νόμῳ ἐγκαθεστώτων, οὐ τοῦ θείου χάριν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὁμαλῶς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ βαίνοντες προέλθοιεν καὶ μὴ διασπασθείη αὐτοῖς ἡ τάξις, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τὰ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα ἐν ταῖς προσόδοις ποιεῖν.

Battle of  
MANTINAE.  
Victory of  
the Spartans.

- 71 Ξυνιόντων δ' ἔτι Ἀγις ὁ βασιλεὺς τοιόνδε ἐβουλεύσατο δρᾶσαι. τὰ στρατόπεδα ποιεῖ μὲν καὶ ἄπαντα τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ κέρατα αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ξυνόδοις μᾶλλον ἔξωθεῖται, καὶ περιῆσχουσι κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων εὐάνυμον ἀμφότεροι τῷ δεξιῷ, διὰ τὸ φοβουμένους προστέλλειν τὰ γυμνὰ ἔκαστον ὡς μάλιστα τῇ τοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ παρατεταγμένου ἀσπίδι, καὶ νομίζειν τὴν πυκνότητα τῆς ξυγκλήσεως εὐσκεπαστότατόν εἶναι· καὶ ἡγεῖται μὲν τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης ὁ πρωτοστάτης τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως, προθυμούμενος ἔξαλλάσσειν ἀεὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γύμνωσιν, ἔπονται δὲ διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ τότε περιέσχον μὲν οἱ Μαντινῆς πολὺ τῷ κέρᾳ τῶν Σκιριτῶν, ἔτι δὲ πλέον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεάται τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅσῳ μεῖζον τὸ στράτευμα εἶχον. δείσας δὲ Ἀγις μὴ σφῶν κυκλωθῆ τὸ εὐώνυμον, καὶ νομίσας ἄγαν περιέχειν τοὺς Μαντινέας, τοῖς μὲν Σκιρίταις καὶ Βρασιδείοις ἐσήμηνεν ἐπεξαγαγόντας ἀπὸ σφῶν ἔξισθαι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν, ἐς δὲ τὸ διάκενον τοῦτο παρήγγελλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως δύο λόχους τὰν πολεμάρχων Ἰππονοῖδα καὶ Ἀριστόκλει ἔχουσι παρελθεῖν καὶ ἐσβαλόντας πληρῶσαι, νομίζων τῷ θέατρῳ ἐναντῶν δεξιῷ ἔτι περιουσίαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Μαντινέας βεβαιότερον τετάξεσθαι.
- 72 Ξυνέβη οὖν αὐτῷ, ἄτε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐφόδῳ καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου παραγγεῖλαντι, τόν τε Ἀριστοκλέα καὶ τὸν Ἰππονοῖδαν μὴ θελῆσαι παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ αἰτίαμα ὕστερον φεύγειν ἐκ Σπάρτης, δόξαντας μαλακισθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους φθάσαι

τῇ προσμίξει, καὶ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκιρίτας ώς οὐ παρῆλθον οἱ λόχοι, πάλιν αὖ σφίσι προσμίξαι, μὴ δυνηθῆναι ἔτι μηδὲ τούτους ξυγκλῆσαι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ πάντα τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλασσωθέντες τότε τῇ <sup>10</sup> ἀνδρίᾳ ἔδειξαν οὐχ ἡσσον περιγενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐν χερσὶν ἐγίγνοντο τοῖς ἑινατίοις, τὸ μὲν τῶν Μαντινέων δεξιὸν τρέπει αὐτῶν τοὺς Σκιρίτας καὶ τοὺς Βρασιδείους, καὶ ἐσπεσόντες οἱ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων οἱ χίλιοι <sup>15</sup> λογάδες κατὰ τὸ διάκενον καὶ οὐ ξυγκλησθὲν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους διέφθειρον καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι ἔτρεψαν καὶ ἔξεωσαν ἐς τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τὰν ἐπιτεταγμένων ἀπέκτεινάν <sup>20</sup> τινας. καὶ ταύτη μὲν ἡσσῶντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· τῷ δ' ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ μέσῳ, ὥπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἅγιος ἦν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ τριακόσιοι ἵππης καλούμενοι, προσπεσόντες τῶν τε Ἀργείων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ πέντε λόχοις ὠνομασμένοις καὶ Κλεωναίοις καὶ Ὁριεάταις καὶ <sup>25</sup> Ἀθηναίων τοῖς παρατεταγμένοις ἔτρεψαν οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπομείναντας, ἀλλ' ώς ἐπήεσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθὺς ἐνδόντας καὶ ἔστιν οὓς καὶ καταπατηθέντας τοῦ μὴ φθῆναι τὴν ἐγ-  
73 κατάληψιν. ώς δὲ ταύτη ἐνεδεδώκει τὸ τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ ξυμμάχων στράτευμα, παρερρήγνυντο <sup>30</sup> ἥδη ἂμα καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα, καὶ ἂμα τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Τεγεατῶν ἐκυκλοῦτο τῷ περιέχοντι σφῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κίνδυνος περιειστήκει, τῇ μὲν κυκλουμένους τῇ

2 δὲ ἡδη ἡσσημένους· καὶ μάλιστ' ἀν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐταλαιπώρησαν, εἰ μὴ οἱ ἵππης παρόντες αὐτοῖς ὠφέλιμοι ἦσαν. καὶ ξυνέβη τὸν Ἀγιν, ὡς ἥσθετο τὸ εὐώνυμον σφῶν πονοῦν τὸ κατὰ τοὺς 10 Μαντινέας καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων τὸν χιλίους, παραγγεῖλαι παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι χωρῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸ νικώμενον. καὶ γενομένου τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς παρῆλθε καὶ ἐξέκλινεν ἀπὸ σφῶν τὸ στράτευμα, καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐσώθησαν καὶ τῶν Ἀρ- 15 γείων μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ ἡσσηθέν· οἱ δὲ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων οἱ λογάδες οὐκέτι πρὸς τὸ ἐγκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὴν γνώμην εἶχον, ἀλλ' ὄρῶντες τοὺς τε σφετέρους νενικημένους καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπιφερομένους ἐς φυγὴν ἐτρά- 20 ποντο. καὶ τῶν μὲν Μαντινέων καὶ πλείους διεφθάρησαν, τῶν δὲ Ἀργείων λογάδων τὸ πολὺ ἐσώθη. ἡ μέντοι φυγὴ καὶ ἀποχώρησις οὐ βίαιος οὐδὲ μακρὰ ἦν· οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ τρέψαι χρόνους τὰς μάχας καὶ βεβαίους τῷ 25 μένειν ποιοῦνται, τρέψαντες δὲ βραχείας καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τὰς διώξεις.

74 Καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη τοιαύτη καὶ ὅτι ἐγγίτατα Loss on both sides. τούτων ἐγένετο, πλείστου δὴ χρόνου μέγιστη δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἀξιολογωτάτων πόλεων ξυνελθοῦσα. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προθέμενοι τῶν πολεμίων νεκρᾶν τὰ ὅπλα 5 τροπαῖον εὐθὺς ἵστασαν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐσκύλευνον καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνείλοντο καὶ ἀπήγαγον ἐς Τέγεαν, οἵπερ ἐτάφησαν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ἀργείων μὲν καὶ

Ορνεατῶν καὶ Κλεωναίων ἐπτακόσιοι, Μαντινέων <sup>10</sup>  
δὲ διακόσιοι, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ξὺν Λίγινήταις δια-  
κόσιοι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀμφότεροι. Λακεδαι-  
μονίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ξύμμαχοι οὐκ ἐταλαιπώρησαν  
ῶστε καὶ ἀξιόλογόν τι ἀπογενέσθαι· αὐτᾶν δὲ  
χαλεπὸν μὲν ἵν τὴν ἀλήθειαν πυθέσθαι, ἐλέγοντο <sup>15</sup>  
δὲ περὶ τριακοσίους ἀποθανεῖν.

75 Τῆς δὲ μάχης μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι καὶ Πλεισ-  
τοίναξ ὁ ἔτερος βασιλεὺς ἔχων τούς τε <sup>Moral effect</sup>  
πρεσβυτέρους καὶ νεωτέρους ἐβοήθησεν, <sup>of the Spar-</sup>  
καὶ μέχρι μὲν Τεγέας ἀφίκετο, πυθό-<sup>Tan-</sup>  
μενος δὲ τὴν νίκην ἀπεχώρησεν. καὶ <sup>allies attack</sup>  
τοὺς ἀπὸ Κορίνθου καὶ ἔξω Ἰσθμοῦ ξυμμάχους <sup>Epidauria.</sup> <sup>5</sup>  
ἀπέστρεψαν πέμψαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ  
αὐτοὶ ἀναχωρήσαντες καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀφέντες,  
Κάρνεια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον ὅντα, τὴν ἑορτὴν  
ἡγον. καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τότε ἐπιφερο- <sup>10</sup>  
μένην αἰτίαν ἦς τε μαλακίαν διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ  
ξυμφορὰν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην ἀβουλίαν τε καὶ βρα-  
δυτῆτα ἐνὶ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀπελύσαντο, τύχῃ μέν, ὡς  
εδόκουν, κακιζόμενοι, γνώμη δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἔτι ὅντες.

3 Τῇ δὲ προτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ξυνέβη τῆς μάχης ταύτης <sup>15</sup>  
καὶ τοὺς Ἐπιδαυρίους πανδημεὶ ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν  
Ἀργείαν ως ἐρῆμον οὖσαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους  
φίλακας τῶν Ἀργείων ἐξελθόντων <sup>1</sup>διαφθεῖραι  
πολλούς. καὶ Ἡλείων τρισχιλίων ὄπλιτῶν βοη-  
θησάντων Μαντινεῦσιν ὕστερον τῆς μάχης καὶ <sup>20</sup>  
Ἀθηναίων χιλίων πρὸς τοὺς προτέρους, ἐστράτευ-  
σαν ἄπαντες οἱ ξύμμαχοι οὗτοι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Ἐπίδαυ-  
ρον, ἕως οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κάρνεια ἡγούν, καὶ διε-

5 λόμενοι τὴν πόλιν περιετείχιζον. καὶ οἱ μὲν  
ἄλλοι ἔξεπαύσαντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, ὥσπερ προσε- 25  
τάχθησαν, τὴν ἄκραν τὸ Ἡραῖον εὐθὺς ἔξειργά-  
σαντο. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ξυγκαταλιπόντες ἅπαντες  
τῷ τειχίσματι φρουρὰν ἀνεχόρησαν κατὰ πόλεις  
ἔκαστοι. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

76 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἀρχομένου εὐθὺς  
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Κάρνεια  
The Lacedae-  
monians of-  
fer terms to  
Argos. ἥγαγον, ἔξεστράτευσαν, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι  
ἐς Τέγεαν λόγους προῦπεμπον ἐς τὸ  
Ἄργος ξυμβατηρίους. ἡσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς πρότερόν 5  
τε ἄνδρες ἐπιτήδειοι καὶ βουλόμενοι τὸν δῆμον τὸν  
ἐν Ἄργει καταλῦσαι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ μάχη ἐγεγένητο,  
πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐδύναντο πείθειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐς  
2 τὴν ὁμολογίαν. ἐβούλοντο δὲ πρῶτον σπονδὰς  
ποιήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, αὐθις ὕστε- 10  
ρον καὶ ξυμμαχίαν, καὶ οὕτως ἥδη τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτί-  
θεσθαι. καὶ ἀφικνεῦται πρόξενος ὃν Ἄργείων  
Λίχας ὁ Ἀρκεσιλάου παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
δύο λόγω φέρων ἐς τὸ Ἄργος, τὸν μὲν καθ' ὃ τι εἰ  
βούλονται πολεμεῖν, τὸν δ' ὡς εἰ ἐρήνην ἄγειν. 15  
3 καὶ γενομένης πολλῆς ἀντιλογίας, ἔτυχε γάρ καὶ ὁ  
Ἄλκιβιάδης παρών, οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ τοῦ Λακεδαι-  
μονίους πράσσοντες, ἥδη καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τολ-  
μῶντες, ἔπεισαν τοὺς Ἄργείους προσδέξασθαι τὸν  
ξυμβατήριον λόγον. ἔστι δὲ ὅδε.

77 Καττάδε δοκεῖ τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
Terms of  
treaty be-  
tween Lace-  
daemon and  
Argos. ξυμβαλέσθαι ποττὼς Ἄργείως, ἀποδι-  
δόντας τὰς παιᾶς τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ  
τὰς ἄνδρας τοῖς Μαιναλίοις, καὶ τὰς ἄν-

δρας τὸς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀποδι- 5  
 δόντας, καὶ ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρω ἐκβώντας καὶ τὸ τεῖχος  
 ἀναιροῦντας. αἱ δέ κα μὴ εἴκωντι τοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρω, πολεμίους εἰμεν τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ  
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
 ξυμμάχοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀργείων ξυμμάχοις. καὶ <sup>το</sup>  
 αἱ τινα τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παῖδα ἔχοντι, ἀποδό-  
 μεν ταῖς πολίεσι πάσαις. περὶ δὲ τῷ σιω σύματος  
 εἰμεν λῆν τοῖς Ἐπιδαιρίοις ὄρκον, δόμεν δὲ αὐτοὺς  
 ὃδοσται. τὰς δὲ πόλιας τὰς ἐν Πελοποννάσῳ, καὶ  
 μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας, αὐτονόμους εἰμεν πάσας κατὰ <sup>15</sup>  
 πάτρια. αἱ δέ κα τῶν ἐκτὸς Πελοποννάσου τις  
 ἐπὶ τὰν Πελοπόννασον γάν ἵη ἐπὶ κακῷ, ἀλεξέμε-  
 ναι ἀμόθι βουλευσαμένους, ὅπᾳ κα δικαιότατα  
 δοκῇ τοῖς Πελοποννασίοις. ὅσοι δὲ ἐκτὸς Πελο-  
 ποννάσω τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξύμμαχοί ἔντι, ἐν τῷ <sup>20</sup>  
 αὐτῷ ἐσσοῦνται ἐν τῷπερ καὶ τοὶ τῶν Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων καὶ τοὶ τᾶν Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοί ἔντι, τὰν  
 αὐτῶν ἔχοντες. ἐπιδείξαντας δὲ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις  
 ξυμβαλέσθαι, αἱ κα αὐτοῖς δοκῇ. αἱ δέ τι δοκῇ  
 τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, οἴκαδ ἀπιάλλην.

78 Τοῦτον μὲν τὸν λόγον προσεδέξαντο πρῶτον οἱ  
 Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ στρά-  
 τευμα ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Τεγέας ἐπ’ <sup>The Argives</sup>  
 οἴκου· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπιμιξίας οὕσης <sup>throw up the</sup>  
 ἥδη παρ’ ἀλλήλους, οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον <sup>alliance, and</sup>  
 ἐπραξαν αὐθις οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες ὅστε τὴν Μαντι- <sup>contract an</sup>  
 νέων καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἡλείων ξυμμαχίαν <sup>alliance with</sup>  
 ἀφέντας Ἀργείους σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ποιη- <sup>Sparta.</sup>  
 σασθαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ ἐγένοντο αἵδε.

79 Καττάδε ἔδοξε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀργεί-

Terms and  
conditions of  
alliance be-  
tween Lase-  
daemon and  
Argos.

οις σπουδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν εἶμεν πεντή-

κοντα ἔτη, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵσοις καὶ ὄμοίοις

δίκας διδόντας καττὰ πάτρια· ταὶ δὲ

ἄλλαι πόλιες ταὶ ἐν Πελοποννάσῳ κοι-

νανεόντων τὰν σπουδᾶν καὶ τὰν ξυμμαχίαν αὐτό-

νομοὶ καὶ αὐτοπόλιες, τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, καττὰ

πάτρια δίκας διδόντες τὰς ἵσας καὶ ὄμοίας. ὅσοι

δὲ ἔξω Πελοποννάσῳ Λακεδαιμονίοις ξύμμαχοί

ἐντι ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐσσοῦνται τοῖσπερ καὶ τοὶ

Λακεδαιμόνιοι· καὶ τοὶ τῶν Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοι

ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσσοῦνται τῷπερ καὶ τοὶ Ἀργεῖοι, τὰν

αὐτῶν ἔχοντες. αἱ δέ ποι στρατείας δέη κοινᾶς,

βουλεύεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίως καὶ Ἀργείως ὅπα

κα δικαιότata κρίναντας τοῖς ξυμμάχοις. αἱ δέ

τινι τὰν πολίων ἡ ἀμφίλογα, ἡ τὰν ἐντὸς ἡ τὰν

ἐκτὸς Πελοποννάσου, αἴτε περὶ ὄρων αἴτε περὶ

ἄλλου τινός, διακριθῆμεν. αἱ δέ τις τῶν ξυμμά-

χων πόλις πόλει ἐρίζοι, ἐς πόλιν ἐλθεῖν ἢν τινα

ἵσαν ἀμφοῦν ταῖς πολίεσι δοκείοι. <sup>1</sup>τῶς δ' ἔτας

καττὰ πάτρια δικάζεσθαι.

80 Αἱ μὲν σπουδαὶ καὶ ἡ ξυμμαχία αὗτη ἐγεγένητο·

καὶ ὁπόσα ἀλλήλων πολέμω ἡ εἰ τι ἄλλο

εἶχον, διελύσαντο. κοινῇ δὲ ἥδη τὰ πράγ-

ματα τιθέμενοι ἐψηφίσαντο κήρυκα καὶ

πρεσβειαν παρ' Ἀθηναίων μὴ προσδέ-

χεσθαι, ἦν μὴ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐξίωσι

τὰ τείχη ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ μὴ ξυμβαίνειν τῷ μηδὲ

πολεμεῖν ἀλλ' ἡ ἄμα. καὶ τά τε ἄλλα θυμῷ

ἔφερον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία καὶ ώς Περδίκ-

The allies  
make over-  
tures to Per-  
diccas. The  
Athenians  
give up their  
works at  
Epidaurus.

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς δὲ ἔταις

καν ἔπειμψαν ἀμφότεροι πρέσβεις, καὶ ἀνέπεισαν <sup>10</sup> Περδίκκαν ξυνομόσαι σφίσιν. οὐ μέντοι εὐθύς γε ἀπέστη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ διενοεῖτο, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους ἐώρα· ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐξ Ἀργους. καὶ τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι τούς τε παλαιοὺς ὄρκους ἀνενεώσαντο καὶ ἄλλους ὄμοσαν. <sup>15</sup>

<sup>3</sup> ἔπειμψαν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἱ Ἀργείοι πρέσβεις, τὸ ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου τεῖχος κελεύοντες ἐκλιπεῖν. οἱ δὲ ὄρῶντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς πλείους ὅντες τοὺς ξυμφύλακας ἔπειμψαν Δῆμοσθένην τοὺς σφετέρους ἐξάξοντα. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀγωνά <sup>20</sup> τινα πρόφασιν γυμνικὸν ἔξω τοῦ φρουρίου ποιήσας, ὡς ἐξῆλθε τὸ ἄλλο <sup>1</sup> φρουρικόν, ἀπέκλησε τὰς πύλας· καὶ ὑστερὸν Ἐπιδαυρίοις ἀνανεωσάμενοι τὰς σπουδὰς αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέδοσαν τὸ τεί-

<sup>81</sup> χισμα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων ἀπόστασιν ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίας καὶ οἱ Μαντινῆς, τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἀντέχοντες, ἔπειτ' οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀνευ τᾶν Ἀργείων, ξυνέβησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν <sup>5</sup> ἀφεῖσαν τῶν πόλεων καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀργείοι, χίλιοι ἐκάτεροι, ξυστρατεύσαντες, τά τ' ἐν Σικυῶνι ἐσ ὀλίγους μᾶλλον κατέστησαν αὐτοὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλθόντες καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνα ξυναμφότεροι ἥδη καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀργει δῆμον κατέλυσαν, <sup>10</sup> καὶ ὀλιγαρχία ἐπιτηδεία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις κατέστη. καὶ πρὸς ἕαρ ἥδη ταῦτα ἦν τοῦ χειμῶνος λίγοντος, καὶ τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

<sup>82</sup> Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Διῆς τε οἱ ἐν Ἀθω

<sup>1</sup> φρούριοι

The allies  
effect an oli-  
garchical re-  
volution in  
Sicyon and  
Argos.

ἀπέστησαν Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Χαλκιδέας, καὶ Λακε-  
 v.c. 417. Counter-revolution in Argos. Long walls begun. δαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως  
 πρότερον ἔχοντα καθίσταντο. καὶ Ἀργείων ὁ δῆμος κατ' ὀλίγον ξυνιστάμενός τε 5  
 καὶ ἀναθαρσήσας ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ὀλίγοις, τηρήσαν-  
 τες αὐτὰς τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων·  
 καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπεκράτησεν  
 ὁ δῆμος, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δὲ ἐξήλασεν.  
 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἕως μὲν αὐτοὺς μετεπέμποντο 10  
 οἱ φίλοι, οὐκ ἥλθον ἐκ πλείονος, ἀναβαλόμενοι δὲ  
 τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας ἐβοήθουν. καὶ ἐν Τεγέᾳ πυθό-  
 μενοι ὅτι νενίκηνται οἱ ὀλίγοι, προελθεῖν μὲν οὐκέτι  
 ἥθελησαν δεομένων τῶν διαπεφευγότων, ἀναχωρή-  
 σαντες δὲ ἐπ' οἴκους τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας ἥγον. καὶ 15  
 ὑστερον ἐλθόντων πρέσβεων ἀπό τε τῶν ἐν τῇ  
 πόλει ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν ἔξω Ἀργείων, παρόντων τε  
 τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ ρήθεντων πολλῶν ἀφ' ἐκατέρων,  
 ἔγνωσαν μὲν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἔδοξεν  
 αὐτοῖς στρατεύειν ἐς Ἀργος, διατριβαὶ δὲ καὶ μελ- 20  
 λήσεις ἐγίγνοντο. ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ἀργείων ἐν  
 τούτῳ, φοβούμενος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὴν  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίαν πάλιν προσαγόμενός τε  
 καὶ νομίζων μέγιστον[άν] σφᾶς ὡφελήσειν, τειχίζει 25  
 μακρὰ τείχη ἐς θάλασσαν, ὅπως, ἦν τῆς γῆς εἴρ-  
 γωνται, ἥ κατὰ θάλασσαν σφᾶς μετὰ τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων ἐπαγωγὴ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὡφελῇ. ξυνήδεσαν  
 δὲ τὸν τειχισμὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὲς  
 πόλεων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι πανδημεῖ, καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ οἰκέται, ἐτείχιζον· καὶ ἐκ τῶν 30

Αθηνῶν αὐτοῖς ἥλθον τέκτονες καὶ λιθουργοί. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

- 83 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Λακεδαιμόνιοι,  
ώς ἦσθοντο τειχιζόντων, ἐστράτευσαν ἐς  
τὸ Ἀργος αἰτοί τε καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πλὴν  
Κορινθίων· ὑπῆρχε δέ τι αἰτοῖς καὶ ἐκ  
τοῦ Ἀργους αὐτόθεν πρασσόμενον. ἥγε  
δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν Ἀγις ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου, Λακεδαι-  
μονίων βασιλεύς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
δοκοῦντα προϊπάρχειν οὐ προύχώρησεν ἔτι· τὰ δὲ  
οἰκοδομούμενα τείχη ἐλόντες καὶ καταβαλόντες  
καὶ Τσιὰς χωρίον τῆς Ἀργείας λαβόντες καὶ τοὺς  
ἐλευθέρους ἄπαντας οὓς ἔλαβον ἀποκτείναντες  
3 ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις. ἐστρά-  
τευσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἐς τὴν Φλιασίαν  
καὶ δηώσαντες ἀπῆλθον, ὅτι σφῶν τοὺς φυγάδας  
ὑπεδέχοντο· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ αἰτῶν ἐνταῦθα κατώ-  
κηντο. κατέκλησαν δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ  
Μακεδονίας Ἀθηναῖοι Περδίκκαν, ἐπικαλοῦντες τὴν  
τε πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους γενομένην  
ξυνωμοσίαν καὶ ὅτι παρασκευασμένων αὐτῶν  
στρατιὰν ἄγειν ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης 20  
καὶ Ἀμφίπολιν, Νικίου τοῦ Νικηράτου στρατη-  
γοῦντος, ἔψευστο τὴν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ  
μάλιστα διελύθη ἐκείνου ἀπάραντος· πολέμιος οὖν  
ἡν. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα οὗτος καὶ πέμπτον καὶ  
δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα. 25

- 84 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Ἀλκιβιάδης τε  
πλεύσας ἐς Ἀργος ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν Ἀργείων τοὺς  
δοκοῦντας ἔτι ὑπόπτους εἶναι καὶ τὰ Λακεδαι-

Walls de-  
stroyed by  
the Spartans.  
Athenian  
operations  
against Per-  
diccas.

μονίων φρονεῦν ἔλαβε, τριακοσίους ἄνδρας, καὶ

b.c. 416. Expedition of the Athenians against MELOS. κατέθεντο αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὰς ἐγγὺς 5 νήσους ὡν ἥρχον· καὶ ἐπὶ Μῆλον τὴν νήσον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν ναυσὶν

ἐαυτῶν μὲν τριάκοντα, Χίαις δὲ ἔξ, Λεσβίαις δὲ δυοῖν, καὶ ὅπλίταις ἐαυτῶν μὲν διακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις καὶ τοξόταις τριακοσίοις καὶ ἵπποτοξόταις 10 εἴκοσι, τῷ δὲ ἔνυμμάχων καὶ νησιωτῶν ὅπλίταις 3 μάλιστα πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις. οἱ δὲ Μήλιοι

Λακεδαιμονίων μέν εἰσιν ἄποικοι, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἥθελον ὑπακούειν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιώται, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐδετέρων ὅντες ἥσύχαζον, 15 ἔπειτα, ὡς αὐτοὺς ἥναγκαζον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δηοῦντες

4 τὴν γῆν, ἐς πόλεμον φανερὸν κατέστησαν. στρατοπεδευσάμενοι οὖν ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ οἱ στρατηγοί, Κλεομήδης τε ὁ Λυκομήδους καὶ Τισίας ὁ Τισιμάχου, πρὶν ἀδικεῖν τι τῆς 20 γῆς, λόγους πρῶτον ποιησομένους ἔπειμψαν πρέσβεις. οὓς οἱ Μήλιοι πρὸς μὲν τὸ πλήθος οὐκ ἥγαγον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις λέγειν 85 ἐκέλευον περὶ ὡν ἥκουσιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων

MELOS. Discussion between the Athenian envoys and Melian commissioners. πρέσβεις ἔλεγον τοιάδε· Ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρὸς τὸ πλήθος οἱ λόγοι γίγνονται, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἔνυεχεῖ ρήσει οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ ἀνέλεγκτα ἐσάπαξ ἀκούσαντες ἡμῶν 5

ἀπατηθῶσιν, γιγνώσκομεν γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο φρονεῖ ὑμῶν ἡ ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους ἀγωγή, ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι ἔτι ἀσφαλέστερον ποιήσατε. καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ καὶ μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἐνὶ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μὴ δοκοῦν ἐπιτηδείως λέγεσθαι εὐθὺς ὑπολαμβάνοντες κρί- 10

- νετε. καὶ πρῶτον, εἰ ἀρέσκει ὡς λέγομεν εἴπατε.  
 86 οἱ δὲ τῶν Μηλίων ἔνυεδροι ἀπεκρίναντο· Ἡ μὲν  
 ἐπιείκεια τοῦ διδάσκειν καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀλλήλους  
 οὐ ψέγεται, τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου παρόντα ἥδη καὶ  
 οὐ μέλλοντα διαφέροντα αὐτοῦ φαίνεται. ὅρῳμεν  
 γὰρ αὐτούς τε κριτὰς ἥκοντας ὑμᾶς τῶν λεχθησο-  
 μένων, καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς  
 περιγενομένοις μὲν τῷ δικαίῳ, καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ μὴ  
 ἐνδοῦσι, πόλεμον ἡμῖν φέρουσαν, πεισθεῖσι δὲ δου-  
 λείαν.
- 87 ΑΘ. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπονοίας τᾶν μελλόντων  
 λογιούμενοι ἡ ἄλλο τι ἔνυήκετε ἡ ἐκ τῶν πάρόντων  
 καὶ ὡν ὄράτε περὶ σωτηρίας βουλεύσοντες τῇ  
 πόλει, παυοίμεθ’ ἄν· εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦτο, λέγοιμεν ἄν.
- 88 ΜΗΛ. Εἰκὸς μὲν καὶ ἔνυγγνώμη ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε  
 καθεστῶτας ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ λέγοντας καὶ δοκοῦντας  
 τρέπεσθαι· ἡ μέντοι ἔνυδος καὶ περὶ σωτηρίας  
 ἥδε πάρεστι, καὶ ὁ λόγος φῆ προκαλεῖσθε τρόπῳ, εἰ  
 δοκεῖ, γιγνέσθω.
- 89 ΑΘ. Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν οὔτε αὐτοὶ μετ’ ὄνομάτων  
 καλῶν, ὡς ἡ δικαίως τὸν Μῆδον καταλύσαντες  
 ἄρχομεν, ἡ ἀδικούμενοι νῦν ἐπεξερχόμεθα, λόγων  
 μῆκος ἀπιστον παρέξομεν, οὕθ’ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦμεν ἡ  
 ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποικοι ὄντες οὐ ἔνυεστρατεύ-  
 σατε ἡ ὡς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ἥδικήκατε λέγοντας οἴεσθαι  
 πείσειν, τὰ δυνατὰ δ’ ἐξ ὧν ἐκάτεροι ἀληθῶς φρο-  
 νοῦμεν διαπράσσεσθαι, ἐπισταμένους πρὸς εἰδότας,  
 ὅτι δίκαια μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης  
 ἀνάγκης κρίνεται, δυνατὰ δὲ οἱ προῦχοντες πράσ-  
 σουσι καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς ἔνυγχωροῦσιν.

90 ΜΗΛ. <sup>1</sup> Ή μὲν δὴ νομίζομέν γε, χρήσιμον—  
ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἐπειδὴ ὑμεῖς οὗτω παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ  
ξυμφέρον λέγειν ὑπέθεσθε—μὴ καταλύειν ὑμᾶς τὸ  
κοινὸν ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀεὶ ἐν κινδύνῳ γιγνομένῳ  
εἶναι τὰ εἰκότα καὶ δίκαια, καὶ τι καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ <sup>5</sup>  
ἀκριβοῦς <sup>2</sup> πεισαντά τινα ὠφεληθῆναι. καὶ πρὸς  
ὑμῶν οὐχ ἡσσον τοῦτο, ὅσῳ καὶ ἐπὶ μεγίστῃ τιμω-  
ρίᾳ σφαλέντες ἀν τοῖς ἄλλοις παράδειγμα γένοισθε.

91 ΑΘ. 'Ημεῖς δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς, ἦν καὶ  
πανθῆ, οὐκ ἀθυμοῦμεν τὴν τελευτήν· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀρ-  
χοντες ἄλλων, ὥσπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὗτοι  
δεινοὶ τοῖς νικηθεῖσιν· ἔστι δὲ οὐ πρὸς Λακεδαι-  
μονίους ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών· ἀλλ' ἦν οἱ ὑπήκοοι που τῶν <sup>5</sup>  
ἀρξάντων αὐτοὶ ἐπιθέμενοι κρατήσωσιν. καὶ περὶ  
μὲν τούτου ἡμῖν ἀφείσθω κινδυνεύεσθαι· ὡς δὲ ἐπ'  
ὠφελίᾳ τε πάρεσμεν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐπὶ<sup>10</sup>  
σωτηρίᾳ νῦν τοὺς λόγους ἐροῦμεν τῆς ὑμετέρας  
πόλεως, ταῦτα δηλώσομεν, βουλόμενοι ἀπόνως μὲν  
ὑμῶν ἀρξαὶ, χρησίμως δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀμφοτέροις σωθῆναι.

92 ΜΗΛ. Καὶ πῶς χρήσιμον ἀν ξυμβαλη ἡμῖν  
δουλεύσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμῖν ἀρξαὶ;

93 ΑΘ. "Οτι ὑμῖν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ τὰ δεινότατα  
παθεῖν ὑπακοῦσαι ἀν γένοιτο, ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ δια-  
φθείραντες ὑμᾶς κερδαίνοιμεν ἀν.

94 ΜΗΛ. "Ωστε δὲ ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας ἡμᾶς φίλους  
μὲν εἶναι ἀντὶ πολεμίων, ξυμμάχους δὲ μηδετέρων,  
οὐκ ἀν <sup>2</sup> δέξαισθε;

95 ΑΘ. Οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς βλάπτει ἡ ἔχθρα  
ὑμῶν ὅσον ἡ φιλία μὲν ἀσθενείας, τὸ δὲ μῖσος  
δυνάμεως παράδειγμα τοῖς ἀρχομένοις δηλούμενον.

<sup>1</sup> Ἡμεῖς μὲν

<sup>2</sup> πεισοντα

<sup>3</sup> δέξαισθε

- ✓
- 96 ΜΗΛ. Σκοποῦσι δ' ύμῶν οὕτως οἱ ὑπήκοοι τὸ εἰκός, ὥστε τούς τε μὴ προσήκοντας, καὶ ὅσοι ἄποικοι ὄντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποστάντες τινὲς κεχείρωνται, ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τιθέασιν;
- 97 ΑΘ. Δικαιώματι γὰρ οὐδετέρους ἐλλείπειν ιγοῦνται, κατὰ δύναμιν δέ τοὺς μὲν περιγίγνεσθαι, ήμᾶς δὲ φόβῳ οὐκ ἐπιέναι. ὥστε ἔξω καὶ τοῦ πλεόνων ἄρξαι καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ήμῖν διὰ τὸ καταστραφῆναι ἀν παράσχοιτε, ἄλλως τε καὶ νησιῶται <sup>5</sup> ναυκρατόρων, καὶ ἀσθενέστεροι ἔτέρων ὔντες, εἰ μὴ περιγένοισθε.
- 98 ΜΗΛ. Ἐν δ' ἐκείνῳ οὐ νομίζετε ἀσφάλειαν; δεῖ γὰρ αὖ καὶ ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς τὰν δικαίων λόγων ήμᾶς ἐκβιβάσαντες τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ξυμφόρῳ ὑπακούειν πείθετε, καὶ ήμᾶς τὸ ήμῖν χρήσιμον διδάσκοντας, εἰ τυγχάνει καὶ ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ ξυμβαῖ-<sup>5</sup> νον, πειρᾶσθαι πείθειν. ὅσοι γὰρ νῦν μηδετέροις ξυμμαχοῦσιν, πῶς οὐ πολεμώσεσθε αὐτούς, ὅταν ἐς τάδε βλέψαντες ἡγήσωνται ποτε ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἤξειν; καὶ τούτῳ τί ἄλλο ἢ τοὺς μὲν ὑπάρχοντας πολεμίους μεγαλύνετε, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲ μελλή-<sup>10</sup> σοντας γενέσθαι ἄκοντας ἐπάγεσθε;
- 99 ΑΘ. Οὐ γὰρ νομίζομεν ήμῖν τούτους δεινοτέρους, ὅσοι ἡπειρῶταί που ὄντες τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ πολλὴν τὴν διαμέλλησιν τῆς πρὸς ήμᾶς φυλακῆς ποιήσονται, ἀλλὰ τοὺς νησιώτας τέ που ἀνάρκτους ὥσπερ ήμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἥδη τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ παροξυνομένους. οὗτοι γὰρ πλεῦστ' ἀν τῷ ἀλογίστῳ ἐπιτρέψαντες σφᾶς τε αὐτοὶς καὶ ήμᾶς ἐς προύπτον κινδυνον καταστήσειαν.

100 ΜΗΛ. Ὡς που ἄρα, εἰ τοσαύτην γε ὑμεῖς τε μὴ παυθῆναι ἀρχῆς καὶ οἱ δουλεύοντες ἥδη ἀπαλλαγῆναι τὴν παρακινδύνευσιν ποιοῦνται, ήμīν γε τοῖς ἔτι ἐλευθέροις πολλὴ κακότης καὶ δειλία μὴ πᾶν πρὸ τοῦ δουλεύσαι ἐπεξελθεῖν.

101 ΑΘ. Οὐκ, ἦν γε σωφρόνως βουλεύησθε· οὐ γάρ περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου ὑμῖν μὴ αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν, περὶ δὲ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἡ βουλὴ πρὸς τοὺς κρείσσονας πολλῷ μὴ ἀνθίστασθαι.

102 ΜΗΛ. Ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμεθα τὰ τῶν πολέμων ἔστιν ὅτε κοινοτέρας τὰς τύχας λαμβάνοντα ἡ κατὰ τὸ διαφέρον ἑκατέρων πλῆθος. καὶ ήμīν τὸ μὲν ἐλξαὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέλπιστον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ δρωμένου ἔτι καὶ στῆναι ἐλπὶς ὀρθῶς.

103 ΑΘ. Ἐλπὶς δέ, κινδύνῳ παραμύθιον οὖσα, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους αὐτῇ κάν βλάψῃ οὐ καθεῖλεν· τοῖς δὲ ἐς ἄπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀιγαριπτοῦσι, δάπανος γὰρ φύσει, ἂμα τε γυγνώσκεται σφαλέντων καὶ ἐν ὅτῳ ἔτι φυλάξεται τις <sub>2</sub> αὐτὴν γνωρισθεῖσαν οὐκ ἐλλείπει. ὃ ὑμεῖς ἀσθενεῖς τε καὶ ἐπὶ ρόπης μιᾶς ὅντες μὴ βούλεσθε παθεῖν, μηδὲ ὅμοιωθῆναι τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὓς παρὸν ἀνθρωπείως ἔτι σώζεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν πιεζομένους αὐτοὺς ἐπιλίπωσιν αἱ φανεραὶ ἐλπίδες, ἐπὶ τὰς <sub>10</sub> ἀφανεῖς καθίστανται, μαντικήν τε καὶ χρησμοὺς καὶ ὄσα τοιαῦτα μετ' ἐλπίδων λυμαίνεται.

104 ΜΗΛ. Χαλεπὸν μὲν καὶ ήμεῖς, εὖ ἵστε, νομίζομεν πρὸς δύναμίν τε τὴν ὑμετέραν καὶ τὴν τύχην, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου ἔσται, ἀγωνίζεσθαι· ὅμως δὲ

πιστεύομεν τῇ μὲν τύχῃ ἐκ τοῦ θείου μὴ ἐλασ-  
σώσεσθαι, ὅτι ὅσιοι πρὸς οὐ δικαίους ἴστάμεθα, τῆς 5  
δὲ δυνάμεως τῷ ἐλλείποντι τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων  
ἡμῖν ξυμμαχίαν προσέσεσθαι, ἀνάγκην ἔχουσαν,  
καὶ εἰ μή του ἄλλου, τῆς γε ξυγγενείας ἔνεκα καὶ  
αἰσχύνη βοηθεῖν. καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν οὕτως ἀλό-  
γως θρασυνόμεθα.

105 ΑΘ. Τῆς μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐμενείας  
οὐδ' ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα λελείψεσθαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔξω  
τῆς ἀνθρωπείας τῶν μὲν ἐς τὸ θεῖον νομίσεως τῶν  
δ' ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλήσεως δικαιοῦμεν ἢ πράσ-  
σομεν. ἡγούμεθα γὰρ τό τε θεῖον δόξη τὸ ἀνθρά- 5  
πειόν τε σαφῶς διὰ παντὸς ὑπὸ φύσεως ἀναγκαίας  
οὐ ἀν κρατή ἄρχειν· καὶ ἡμεῖς οὕτε θέντες τὸν  
νόμον οὕτε κειμένῳ πρῶτοι χρησάμενοι, ὄντα δὲ  
παραλαβόντες καὶ ἐσόμενον ἐς ἀεὶ καταλείψοντες  
χρώμεθα αὐτῷ, εἰδότες καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀν καὶ ἄλλους ἐν 10  
τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει ἡμῖν γενομένους δρῶντας ἀν αὐτό.  
καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ θεῖον οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος οὐ  
φοβούμεθα ἐλασσώσεσθαι· τῆς δὲ ἐς Λακεδαι-  
μονίους δέξης, ἦν διὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν δὴ βοηθήσειν  
ὑμῖν πιστεύετε αὐτούς, μακαρίσαντες ὑμῶν τὸ 15  
ἀπειρόκακον οὐ ζηλοῦμεν τὸ ἄφρον. Λακεδαι-  
μόνιοι γὰρ πρὸς σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἐπιχώρια  
νόμιμα πλεῖστα ἀρετῇ χρῶνται· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς  
ἄλλους πολλὰ ἀν τις ἔχων εἰπεῖν ὡς προσφέρονται  
ξυνελὼν μάλιστ' ἀν δηλώσειεν, ὅτι ἐπιφανέστατα 20  
ὦν ἵσμεν τὰ μὲν ἡδέα καλὰ νομίζουσι, τὰ δὲ ξυμ-  
φέροντα δίκαια. καίτοι οὐ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας νῦν  
ἀλόγου σωτηρίας ἡ τοιαύτη διάνοια.

- 106 ΜΗΛ. Ἡμεῖς δὲ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἥδη καὶ μάλιστα πιστεύομεν τῷ ξυμφέροντι αὐτῶν, Μηλίους ἀποίκους ὅντας μὴ βουλήσεσθαι προδόντας τοῖς μὲν εὔνοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπίστους καταστῆναι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ὡφελίμους.
- 107 ΑΘ. Οὕκουν οἰεσθε τὸ ξυμφέρον μὲν μετ' ἀσφαλείας εἶναι, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον καὶ καλὸν μετὰ κινδύνου δρᾶσθαι· ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἥκιστα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τολμῶσιν.
- 108 ΜΗΛ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τε ἡμῶν ἔνεκα μᾶλλον ἡγούμεθ' ἀν ἐγχειρίσασθαι αὐτούς, καὶ βεβαιοτέρους ἡ ἐσ ἄλλους νομιεῦν, ὅσῳ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐγγὺς κείμεθα, τῆς δὲ γνώμης τῷ ξυγγενεῖ πιστότεροι ἐτέρων ἐσμέν.
- 109 ΑΘ. Τὸ δὲ ἔχυρόν γε τοῖς ξυναγωνιούμενοις οὐ τὸ εὔνουν τῶν ἐπικαλεσαμένων φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ἦν τῶν ἔργων τις δυνάμει πολὺ προῦχη· ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ πλειόν τι τῶν ἄλλων σκοποῦσιν. τῆς γοῦν οἰκείας παρασκευῆς ἀπιστίᾳ καὶ μετὰ ξυμμάχων πολλῶν τοῖς πέλας ἐπέρχονται, ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐσ νῆσόν γε αὐτοὺς ἡμῶν ναυκρατόρων ὄντων περαιωθῆναι.
- 110 ΜΗΛ. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἀν ἔχοιεν πέμψαι πολὺ δὲ τὸ Κρητικὸν πέλαγος, δι' οὖ τῶν κρατούντων ἀπορώτερος ἡ λῆψις ἡ τῶν λαθεῦν βουλομένων ἡ σωτηρία. καὶ εἰ τοῦδε σφάλλοιντο, τράποιντ' ἀν καὶ ἐσ τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅσους μὴ Βρασίδας ἐπῆλθεν· καὶ οὐ περὶ τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς οἰκειοτέρας ξυμμαχίδος τε καὶ γῆς ὁ πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται.

111     ΑΘ. Τούτων μὲν καὶ πεπειραμένοις ἂν τι γένοιτο καὶ ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμοσιν ὅτι οὐδὲ ἀπὸ μᾶς πώποτε πολιορκίας Ἀθηναῖοι δι’ ἄλλων φόβον ἀπεχώρησαν. ἐνθυμούμεθα δὲ ὅτι φήσαντες περὶ σωτηρίας βουλεύσειν οὐδὲν ἐν τοσούτῳ λόγῳ εἰρήκατε, φένθρωποι ἀν πιστεύσαντες νομίσειαν σωθῆσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὑμῶν τὰ μὲν ἴσχυρότατα ἐλπιζόμενα μέλλεται, τὰ δὲ ὑπάρχοντα βραχέα πρὸς τὰ ἥδη ἀντιτεταγμένα περιγίγνεσθαι. πολλὴν τε ἀλογίαν τῆς διανοίας παρέχετε, εἰ μὴ μεταστησάμενοι ἔτι ἡμᾶς ἀλλο τι τῶνδε σωφρονέστερον γνώσεσθε. οὐ γάρ δὴ ἐπί γε τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ προῦπτοις κινδύνοις πλεῖστα διαφθείρουσαν ἀνθρώπους αἰσχύνην τρέψεσθε. πολλοῖς γάρ προορωμένοις ἔτι, ἐσ οὐα φέρονται, τὸ αἰσχρὸν καλούμενον ὄνόματος ἐπαγωγοῦ δυνάμει ἐπεσπίστατο, ἡσσηθεῖσι τοῦ ῥήματος, ἔργῳ ξυμφοραῖς ἀνηκέστοις ἔκόντας περιπεσεῖν, καὶ αἰσχύνην αἰσχίῳ μετ’ ἀνοίας ἢ τύχης προσλαβεῖν. ὃ ὑμεῖς, ἦν εὖ βουλεύησθε, φυλάξεσθε, καὶ οὐκ ἀπρεπὲς νομιεῖτε πόλεώς τε τῆς μεγίστης ἡσσᾶσθαι μέτρια προκαλουμένης, ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι ἔχοντας τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν ὑποτελεῖς, καὶ δοθείσης αἱρέσεως πολέμου πέρι καὶ ἀσφαλείας, μὴ τὰ χείρω φιλονεικῆσαι· ώς οἵτινες τοῖς μὲν ἵσοις μὴ εἴκουσι, τοῖς δὲ κρείσσοσι καλῶς προσφέρονται, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἡσσους μέτριοί εἰσιν, πλεῖστ’ ἀν ὄρθοῦντο. σκοπεῖτε οὖν καὶ μεταστάντων ἡμῶν καὶ ἐνθυμεῖσθε πολλάκις, ὅτι περὶ πατρίδος βουλεύεσθε, [ἥν] μιᾶς πέρι καὶ ἐς

μίαν βουλὴν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν  
<sup>1</sup>[ἔσται].

112 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι μετεχώρησαν ἐκ τῶν λόγων· οἱ δὲ Μήλιοι κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς γενόμενοι, ως ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς παραπλήσια καὶ ἀντέλεγον, ἀπεκρίναντο τάδε. Οὔτε ἄλλα δοκεῖ ἡμῖν ἡ ἅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, οὕτ’ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πόλεως ἐπτακόσια ἔτη ἥδη οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρησόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε μέχρι τοῦδε σωζούσῃ τύχῃ ἐκ τοῦ θείου αὐτὴν καὶ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τιμωρίᾳ πιστεύοντες πειρασόμεθα σώζεσθαι. προκαλούμεθα δὲ ὑμᾶς φίλοι μὲν εἶναι, πολέμιοι δὲ μηδετέροις, καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν ἀναχωρήσαι, σπουδὰς ποιησάμένους αἴτινες δοκοῦσιν 113 ἐπιτήδειοι εἶναι ἀμφοτέροις. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μήλιοι τοσαῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διαλυόμενοι ἥδη ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἔφασαν· Ἄλλ’ οὖν μόνοι γε ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν βουλευμάτων, ως ἡμῖν δοκεῖτε, τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα τῶν ὄρωμένων σαφέστερα κρίνετε, τὰ δὲ ἀφανῆ τῷ βούλεσθαι ως γιγνόμενα ἥδη θεᾶσθε, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τύχῃ καὶ ἐλπίσι πλεῖστον δὴ παραβεβλημένοι καὶ πιστεύσαντες πλεῖστον καὶ σφαλήσεσθε.

114 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς Melos block- τὸ στράτευμα· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν, aded. ως οὐδὲν ὑπήκουον οἱ Μήλιοι, πρὸς πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἐτρέποντο, καὶ διελόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις περιετείχισαν κύκλῳ τοὺς Μηλίους. καὶ ὕστερον 5

<sup>1</sup> ἔστατε

φυλακὴν σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων καταλιπόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ. οἱ δὲ λειπόμενοι παραμένοντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὸ χωρίον.

10

115 Καὶ Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Φλιασίαν καὶ λοχισθέντες ὑπό τε Φλιασίων καὶ τῶν σφετέρων φυγάδων διεφθάρησαν ὡς ὄγδοήκοντα. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου Ἀθηναῖοι Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὴν λείαν ἔλαβον· καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι' αὐτὸν τὰς μὲν σπουδὰς οὐδὲ ὡς ἀφέντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς, ἐκήρυξαν δὲ εἴ τις βούλεται παρὰ σφῶν Ἀθηναίους λητίζεσθαι. καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἐπολέμησαν ἴδιων τινῶν διαφορῶν ἔνεκα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι ἡσύχαζον. εἶλον δὲ καὶ οἱ Μήλιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ περιτειχίσματος τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν προσβαλόντες νυκτός, καὶ ἄνδρας τε ἀπέκτειναν καὶ ἐσενεγκάμενοι σῖτόν τε καὶ ἵστα πλεῖστα ἐδύναντο χρήσιμα ἀναχωρήσαντες ἡσύχαζον· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμεινον τὴν φυλακὴν τὸ ἔπειτα παρεσκευάζουντο. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

116 Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Λακεδαιμόνιοι μελλήσαντες ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν στρατεύειν, ὡς αὐτοῖς τὰ διαβατήρια ιερὰ ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις οὐκ ἐγίγνετο, ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ Ἀργεῖοι διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μέλλησιν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τινὰς ὑποτοπήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ξυνέλαβον, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ διέφυγον. καὶ οἱ Μήλιοι περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους αὐθις καθ' ἔτερόν τι τοῦ περιτειχίσματος

Operations  
in Pelopon-  
nesus.

Melos sur-  
renders.

εἰλον τᾶν Ἀθηναίων, παρόντων οὐ πολλῶν τῶν φυλάκων. καὶ ἐλθούσης στρατιᾶς ὑστερον ἐκ τῶν <sup>10</sup> Ἀθηνῶν ἄλλης, ώς ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ἡς ἡρχε Φιλοκράτης δ Δημέου, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἥδη πολιορκούμενοι, γενομένης καὶ προδοσίας τινὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, ξυνεχώρησαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὥστ' ἐκείνους περὶ αὐτῶν βουλεῦσαι. οἱ δὲ ἀπέκτειναν Μηλίων ὅσους <sup>15</sup> ἥβωντας ἔλαβον, παιδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἤνδραπόδισαν. τὸ δὲ χωρίον αὐτοὶ <sup>1</sup> ὠκησαν, ἀποίκους ὑστερον πεντακοσίους πέμψαντες.

<sup>1</sup> ὠκησαν

## NOTES

### CHAPTER I

1. *τοῦ δὲ...θέρους*—the same words with which the third and fourth books begin; see note on iv. 1, 1. *αἱ μὲν*—answered by *δέ* at the beginning of chapter 2, the rest of this chapter being parenthetical. A second protasis to the same *δέ* occurs below in line 9, *οἱ μὲν Δῆλοι*. Krüger however considers that this first *μὲν* is answered by *καὶ* in the next clause, as in chapter 71, 1, where *ποιεῖ μὲν καὶ ἄπαντα* is followed by *καὶ τότε*.

2. *διελέλυντο*—‘had come to an end’ or ‘was *ipso facto* at an end’, the pluperfect denoting the termination of the treaty and the state of things resulting, as in iv. 16, 3, *τότε λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδάς*. For the terms of the year’s truce see iv. 117–119.

The words *μέχρι Πυθίων* define the time when the treaty actually ended, ‘(after lasting) till the Pythian games’. For this force of *μέχρι* cf. i. 71, 3, *μέχρι τοῦδε ωρίσθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδυῆς* ‘let this be the limit of your inaction’: so i. 51, 2, *ἡ ναυμαχία ἐτελεύτη ἐστιν*, ‘lasted till night and then ended’: iii. 108 (fin.), *ἐτελεύτη ἐώς ὅψε*: iv. 48, 4, *ἡ στάσις ἐτελεύτησεν ἐς τοῦτο*.

Poppo and others take the sense of the clause to be that ‘the truce was ended (and a state of war followed) till the Pythian games’; but no warlike operations are recorded, nor any hint given of the war beginning again; and on the contrary it seems clear that Cleon’s expedition was not allowed to start till after the sacred season.

Other editors think that a nondescript state of things, neither peace nor war, is meant, which followed the expiration of the treaty.

There seems some justice in Classen’s view, that Thucydides had intended at first to write only *αἱ μὲν...διελέλυντο*. *Κλέων δέ κ.τ.λ.* and then had inserted a note of time and the account of the cleansing of Delos.

It is ascertained by an inscription that the Pythian games were held in the Delphian month Bucatius, which corresponded to Metageitnion at Athens, and to part of our August and Sep-

tember (see Classen and Jowett). The year's truce therefore which formally expired in Elaphebolion (March—April) was informally prolonged because of the approach of the Pythian festival.

3. *ἐν τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ*—the year's truce is called *ἡ ἐκεχειρία* in iv. 119 (fin.), 122, 1, and 123, 1, and this might be the meaning here. Most editors however take it to denote either the informal truce after the regular expiration of the treaty, or the sacred truce of the Pythian festival.

*ib.* *Δηλίους ἀνέστησαν*—Arnold points out that the Athenians were naturally anxious to propitiate Apollo, who was the national deity of their enemies, and whose temple at Delium they themselves had lately profaned. They had been excluded from Delphi by the war, and now that the sacred games drew near, 'what wonder if the peace party availed themselves of this pretext to delay Cleon's proposed expedition: if they urged the duty and wisdom of not trying again the chances of war till the god at Delphi had been fully appeased. His birthplace had been now completely purified; it only remained to approach his temple with their suppliant offerings at his great Pythian festival; to profane it by no din of warlike preparation, but to wait till they should be assured of his favour, in consideration of their devout reverence to his solemnity'.

5. *οὐ καθαροὺς ὄντας*—the participial construction gives the principal thing in the clause, the suspected impurity of the Delians when their island was consecrated: cf. i. 20, 2, "Ιππαρχον οἴονται τύραννον δύτα ἀποθανεῖν, 'think that Hipparchus who was slain was tyrant'.

7. *ἥ*—'in which', in construction a sort of instrumental dative (or perhaps rather dative of 'occasion when', like *οὗ* ch. 49, 1) with *ἀνελόντες*: see ch. 7, 10. In sentences of this character, with a participle and a verb, the Greek idiom generally differs from the English, and the construction is determined by the participle, especially if it is closer to the dependent word, as it is here to *ἥ*. We should say, 'which they thought they had properly carried out by removing the sepulchres of the dead'.

*ib.* *πρότερον*—the former purification was in 426. It is described in iii. 104, where a still earlier purification by Peisistratus is mentioned, and an account given of the ancient Delian festivals: see also i. 8, 1. The *θῆκαι* are mentioned in both passages.

9. *'Ατραμύττιον*—(or *-ειον*) acc. governed by *ψκησαν*: i. 8, 1, *τὰς πλειστας τῶν νήσων ψκησαν*. At(d)ramyttium was on the

coast of Mysia near Lesbos. Pharnaces (ii. 67, 1) appears to have been satrap of the district near the Hellespont, in which he was succeeded by his son Pharnabazus (viii. 6, 1).

11. ὥρμητο—this form, which is a virtual imperfect, is used with words of motion, as in iv. 48, 6, and 74, 1 with Ίνα: or of impulse of mind, as in iv. 27, 4, ὥρμημένους τῇ γνώμῃ: vi. 6, 1, στρατεύειν ὥρμητο. Whichever is the literal force here, the sense is that the Delians did not migrate in a body, but as each chose to go. In ch. 32, 5 we find the Delians restored to Delos, but others were still at Adramyttium 10 years later (viii. 108, 3).

## CHAPTER II

1. Ἀθηναίους πείσας—these words show that Cleon alone had the courage and statesmanship to urge the necessity of recovering Amphipolis and the other revolted towns as a matter of vital importance. By his influence in the assembly the expedition was decreed. But what is to be said of Nicias, and the other home authorities, who allowed him to conduct singlehanded an enterprise of such moment? At Pylos he had a thoroughly competent colleague in Demosthenes. Now 1200 men at arms, and 300 cavalry, the flower of the Athenian troops, besides a large force of allies, are entrusted to his sole command. The general assembly very possibly believed that Cleon might succeed as he had done at Pylos, but the *strategi* could be under no such delusion. They knew that he had no military skill or experience, they knew that he had to encounter Brasidas, and their imbecility or their party-hatred sacrificed an Athenian army and lost the Thrace-ward possessions.

5. σχάν̄ ἐσ—‘landing, putting in at’; so iv. 42, 2, ἐσχον̄ ἐσ τὸν αἰγαλόν. ἔτι πολιορκουμένην—Scione was completely invested by the end of the summer before; see iv. 133 (fin.). The long duration of the blockade became proverbial; cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 209 (exhibited in 422),

ἢ μοι κρέττον ἦν  
τηρεῖν Σκιώνην ἀντὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πατρός.

8. Κωφὸν λιμένα—a conjectural alteration of the manuscript reading Κολοφωνίων λιμένα, which is unintelligible, unless it possibly denoted a name derived from some resemblance in appearance. κωφὸς λιμήν=ἄκλυστος, silent, as in Xen. *Hel.* ii. 4, 31. Strabo speaks of a κωφὸς λιμήν near Torone; and a harbour south of the city is still called Kufo; see Jowett’s note.

*ib.* τῶν Τορωναίων—ambiguously placed (ch. 29, 23). Poppo and Krüger connect it with τῆς πόλεως, Classen with λιμένα. The latter way of taking it seems right, as it gives the explanation that the harbour in question was in the territory of Torone. Torone had been taken by Brasidas in 424 (iv. 110—116).

9. **αἰσθόμενος ὑπ' αὐτομόλων**—the quasi-passive force of *αἰσθόμενος*=‘informed by’, seems sufficient to justify *ὑπό*, which is read in all the manuscripts. Krüger would read *ἀπό*.

10. ἐν τῇ Τορώνῃ—sc. εἶη, a very awkward ellipse. Krüger notes that *ἄξιόμαχος* is not found in classical Greek writers besides Thucydides and Herodotus.

12. **ἐς τὴν πόλιν**—*ἐς* here denotes approach, not entrance; so ii. 18, 1, *ἀφίκετο ἐς Οἰνόην πρῶτον*. The harbour here spoken of is different from the *κωφὸς λιμήν*. For the infinitive **περιπλεῖν** cf. iv. 132, 3, *ἐπιδεῦν πεμψάντων τὰ πράγματα*: see Goodwin § 97.

14. **περιτείχισμα**—*περιτείχιζω* and its compounds are commonly used by Thucydides of the works of a besieger, not of defensive fortifications (*τείχος*, *τείχισμα*, *περίβολος*): see ch. 115, 12, etc. Possibly therefore *προτείχισμα* ought to be read, or *τείχισμα* as in the next chapter, line 8. In Ar. *An.* 551 however *περιτείχιζεν* is used of defensive lines. **ποιῆσαι**—i. 109, 3, *τὰς ναῦς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἐποίησε*: vi. 67, 2, *τοὺς σκευυφόρους ἐντὸς τούτων ἐποιήσαντο*.

16. **διελῶν τοῦ**—‘making a breach *in*’, so as to open a free passage between the city and the suburb. **τείχους** is partitive genitive, as in ii. 75, 4, *διελόντες τοῦ τείχους*. In iv. 111, 2 we have *ἡ πυλὶς διέρητο*, ‘had been forced open’ or ‘broken through’. Note the demonstrative form which the second clause of the relative sentence assumes, as in ch. 5, 8: cf. note on iv. 67, 1, *ὅθεν ἐπλινθενον τὰ τείχη καὶ ἀπεῖχεν*.

17. **αὐτῆν**—agreeing with *πόλιν* by attraction; the whole space enclosed is meant.

### CHAPTER III

1. **ἐς αὐτό**—the new *περιτείχισμα* or outwork. **Πασιτελίδας**—in iv. 132 (fin.), according to the manuscripts, the Lacedaemonian commandant is called Epitelidas, a name which most editors alter to Pasitelidas on the strength of the present chapter.

4. **ἔβιάζοντο**—passive; iv. 10, 3 (note). Note in this sentence the different force of the imperfects and aorists.

5. *ai ἐς τὸν λιμένα*—*ai* is read by Poppo and Classen, with one manuscript. If *ai* be omitted we have the sense ‘after being sent round’. *ἐγκαταληφθῆ*—sc. *αὐτός*. For the word cf. iv. 116, 1, *ὅσους ἐγκατέλαβε διέφθειρεν*.

9. *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*—resolved into *οἱ τε ἀπό...καὶ ὁ πεζὸς, φθάνουσι* being connected both with *ἔλοντες* and *ξυνεσπεσάν*, while *ἐπισπόμενος* is a predicate in agreement with *πεζός*. According to this view *αὐτοβοεί* goes with *ξυνεσπεσάν*: Krüger however puts a comma after the word, connecting it with the preceding *ἔλοντες*. *ὁ πεζός*—sc. *στρατός*: iv. 25, 3. *αὐτοβοεί*—*primo clamore utque impetu* (Poppo); usually with *ἔλειν*, as ii. 81, 3, *αὐτοβοεί τὴν τόλων ἔλειν*. Here *ξυνεσπεσάν* implies forcing the passage. The Athenians at the first onset broke into the city pell mell with the enemy: cf. vi. 100, 2, *καὶ αὐτοῖς ξυνεσπεσάν οἱ διώκοντες*. *ἐν χερσὶ*—iv. 43, 2, *ἵνα ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ πᾶσα*.

15. *ἔβοήθει*—note the force of the imperfect ‘de consilio et conatu opitulandi’ (Poppo). We are not told where Brasidas was when Cleon’s expedition arrived. *ἀποσχάν* contains a negative idea of failure or hindrance, and is therefore constructed with *μή* following.

19. *τροπαῖα δύο*—one for each branch of the service. *γυναῖκας*—for the omission of the article in regular phrases of frequent occurrence, see note on iv. 18, 3, *πόλεως τε κ.τ.λ.* In this particular phrase *παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες* is the more usual order.

22. *καὶ εἰ τις*—so iii. 35, *καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος*, after two accusatives. *ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας*—the more usual Thucydidean form, not *Ἀθήναῖς*: see note on iv. 21, 3.

24. *αὐτοῖς*—the defenders of Torone generally. *αὐτοῖς* is the common Thucydidean initial dative, in construction loosely connected with *ἀπῆλθεν*, but in sense concerned with both the following clauses: ‘as for them’, ‘this befell them’ etc.: cf. i. 48, 3, *Κορινθίοις δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας αἱ Μεγαρίδες νῆσος εἶχον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον κ.τ.λ.* Arnold takes *αὐτοῖς* to denote the Athenians, meaning that ‘they afterwards lost their captives’, but this part of the sentence seems entirely to refer to the Toroneans.

ib. *τὸ Πελοποννήσιον*—so iv. 61, 2, *οἱ μὲν Δωρεᾶς...τὸ δὲ Χαλκιδικὸν*. Note what we may call the *resolved apposition* *ἄνηρ ἄντ' ἄνδρὸς λυθείσ*: so ii. 103, 1, *οἱ ἄνηρ ἄντ' ἄνδρὸς ἐλύθησαν*. *γενομέναις*—see ch. 18 sq.

27. *εἷλον δέ*—note the breaking up of this sentence, so that the emphasis naturally falls on the more important words, while the rhythm is duly balanced.

30. περιέπλει—by this use of the imperfect Thucydides leaves Cleon on his way to Amphipolis, and passes to another subject.

## CHAPTER IV

A summary of events in Sicily, which has not been mentioned since iv. 65.

1. Φαίαξ—Phaeax is mentioned by Plutarch, *Alc.* 13, as a contemporary and opponent of Alcibiades: Ar. *Eq.* 1377, σοφός γ' ὁ Φαίαξ δεξιῶς τ' οὐκ ἀπέθανε.

ib. τρίτος αὐτός—i. 46, πέμπτος αὐτός: so Hdt. iv. 113, δευτέρην αὐτήν, 'with one companion'. 'Αθηναίων πεμπόντων—cf. ch. 39, 2: i. 89, 2, Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκουν Μήδων ἔχοντων, etc.

5. μετὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν—the general peace made by the Sicilian Greeks, two years before, on the advice of Hermocrates (iv. 65). πολίτας ἐπεγράψαντο—'enrolled many new citizens'; cf. *ascribere, ascriptus*. For ἐπὶ in composition implying sequence and addition, see note on iv. 36, 2.

7. ἐπενόει ἀναδάσασθαι—'contemplated a redistribution of the land'. 'So when an additional number of citizens was wanted at Cyrene, settlers were invited from all parts of Greece, ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ (Hdt. iv. 159)'. It was regarded as a revolutionary measure, as shown in Arnold's interesting note, from which this is quoted. Arnold assumes that the *ager publicus* of the state is meant, but Grote doubts if there would be such lands belonging to a state like Leontini (ch. 57, p. 123).

ib. οἱ δυνατοί—here the oligarchical or aristocratical party, who were threatened with the loss of some of their possessions or holdings; i. 24, 3, ὁ δῆμος ἔξεδιώκε τοὺς δυνατούς. In ii. 65, 1, οἱ δυνατοί is used to denote men of wealth and position, as contrasted with the δῆμος or mass of the people, without implying political partizanship. αἰσθόμενοι—sc. the matter; cf. note on iv. 14, 1, γνόντες. ἐπάγονται—so ii. 2, 2, ἐπηγάγοντο.

9. ὡς ἔκαστοι—so i. 3, 4 etc.: see note on iv. 32, 2. ἐρημώσαντες—'abandoning'; Aesch. *Ag.* 1070, τόνδ' ἐρημώσας δόχον. ἐπὶ πολιτείᾳ—'on condition of receiving citizenship'; ch. 31, 9: for ἐπὶ implying conditions cf. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, ἐφ' ψ., etc.: also Hdt. cited on line 7.

13. ἀρέσκεσθαι—so ch. 37, 23, οἱ βοιωτάρχαι ἡρέσκοντο: also with dat. 'to be pleased with'. ἀπολιπόντες ἐκ—so iii. 10, 1, with ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου: this usage is rare. Krüger cites Hdt. vii. 221, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀπέλιπε, 'did not depart'.

15. **καταλαμβάνοντι**—*occupant*; iv. 1, 1, note. **σύν**—agreeing with the predicate; i. 96, 2, 'Ελληνοταραιαὶ κατέστη ἀρχή. **τότε**=‘as related’; ch. 6, 1, etc.

18. **καταστάντες**—probably to be connected with **ἐπολέμουν**, of ‘settling down to’ a course of warfare: cf. i. 59, 2, **καταστάντες ἐπολέμουν**: so ii. 1. In i. 49, 2, however, **καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο** is used of soldiers who were ‘firmly posted’ on ship-board. Some editors therefore take the meaning here to be, ‘when they had established themselves’. **ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν**—from the strongholds in question, each of which was a **τεῖχος** (Classen).

20. **ξυμάχους**—we find in iii. 86 that the Chalcidian cities and the Dorian colony of Camarina were in alliance with Leontini and joined in appealing to Athens. **Σικελιώτας**—Greek colonists, as opposed to the **Σικελοί**, the general name for the non-Greek inhabitants: cf. vi. 2, 5. **κοινῷ** is to be taken with **ἐπιστρατεύσαται**.

26. **ἀντιστάντος...πράγματος**—so ch. 38, 23, **ὡς ἀντέστη τὸ πρᾶγμα**, ‘went against them’. **πράγμα** has no doubt the notion of political intrigue which is so often conveyed by **πράσσω**: e.g. i. 128, 3, **πρὸς βασιλέα πράγματα πράσσειν**.

ib. **οὐκέτι**—= he gave up his intention. **ἐπί**—in a friendly sense; iv. 85, 3, **ἐπὶ οὓς πρώτον ἥλθον**. For inf. with **αἰσθόμενος** cf. vi. 59, 3, **αἰσθανόμενος...δύνασθαι**.

28. **διὰ τῶν Σικελῶν**—through the interior; the **Σικελοί** occupied the central and northern parts of the island. **παραθαρούντας**—‘reassured’; iv. 115, 1: viii. 77. We are not told what became of this garrison. It was probably reduced and expelled by the Syracusans; cf. vi. 6, 1, **εἰ Συρακούσιοι Λεοντίνους ἀναστήσαντες ἀτιμώρητοι γενήσονται**.

## CHAPTER V

1. **τῇ παρακομδῇ κ.τ.λ.**—the article applies to both substantives, which are equivalent to ‘on his way to Sicily and back’; cf. i. 120, 2, **τῇν κατακομδήν...καὶ πάλιν ἀντίληψις**=exchange of exports and imports.

2. **καὶ**—‘also’, with **ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ**. **ἔχορημάτισε**—‘treated’, only here with the dative (Classen): i. 87, 4, **ἐφ' ἄπερ ἥλθον χρηματίσαντες φιλίας τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις**=**πρὸς τούς**: iv. 22, 1, **ξυνέδρους σφίσιν ἐλέσθαι**: ib. infr. **διλίγους ξύνεδροι γίγνεσθαι**.

4. **τοῖς ἐκ Μεσσήνης**—the definite article is explained by what follows: the circumstances have not been mentioned before. The Epizephyrian Locrians had joined in occupying Messene in 425 (iv. 1, 1), but only with a naval force. Messene from the earliest days had been a centre of faction; see the

account of it in vi. 4. ἐποίκοις—‘settlers’ or colonists; ii. 27, 1, αὐτῶν πέμψαντας ἐποίκους ἔχειν.

5. ἐκπεπτωκόσιν—part of the epithet, but placed after the substantive, as is not uncommon, especially with participles; cf. ch. 34, 6: i. 11, 3. δρολογίαν=ξύμβασιν ch. 4, 5. καὶ ἐγένετο—the second division of the relative construction, put in demonstrative form; see note on ch. 2, 16.

9. κομιζομένοις—‘on their way’ (back to Locri); so i. 52, 3, κομισθήσονται, etc. The manuscripts have τοῖς κομιζομένοις, ‘those namely etc.’, with προκομιζομένοις as a correction in one. Bekker suggests ἀποκομιζομένοις. Classen would omit both words, as being an interpolation. For other instances of an article which we might at first sight think better away, cf. iv. 46, 3, τοὺς ἐλθόντας, and Jowett’s note on iv. 33, 2, οἱ ὑποστρέφοντες.

10. τοῖς Δοκροῖς πρὸς αὐτόν—render ‘between him and the Locrians’; see iv. 80, 2, note, and Shilleto on i. 17, 1.

14. κατεῖχεν—κατέχω=‘to constrain’ or ‘press hard on’; i. 103, 3, Κορινθίοι αὐτοὺς πολέμῳ κατεῖχον: iv. 92, 5, εἰώθασι κατέχειν. For Ἰτωνέας καὶ Μελαίους, unknown people, Classen adopts Ἰππωνιάτας καὶ Μεδμαίους, from names of places found in Strabo. Ἰππωνέας seems the right form (F.). Note the definite article with πόλεμος, as in line 4; though the war has not been mentioned before.

## CHAPTER VI.

1. τότε—see the end of ch. 3. Σταγείρω—Stageirus joined Brasidas soon after Acanthus, iv. 88: for Galepsus see iv. 107, 2. The article with ἀποικιῶν is a Thucydidean mannerism, sometimes implying ‘the well-known’ or ‘the before-named’ colony; but often used with no especial definitive force.

6. Περδίκκαν—this fickle prince had made peace with the Athenians two years before, after quarrelling with Brasidas, iv. 132, 1. κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν—so i. 107 fin.: ii. 22, 2, κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ξυμμαχικόν.

9. ἀξοντα—‘who was to bring’: Classen approves the suggestion ἀξοντας, referring to the envoys; cf. ch. 80, 20: ch. 84, 21. For μισθοῦ cf. iv. 124, 4, μισθοῦ μέλλοντες ἥκειν.

11. καὶ αὐτός=‘on his side’; the words belong to ἀντεκάθητο or strictly to ἐκάθητο only: cf. iv. 124, 3, ἀντεπαγαγόντες καὶ αὐτοῖς: so ch. 8, 2.

12. Ἀργιλίων—see iv. 103, 2. For the genitive cf. iv. 41, 2, ἔστι ἡ Πύλος τῆς Μεσσηνίδος ποτὲ οὖσης γῆς. Xen. Anab. v.

5, 7, Κοτύωρα ἦν Σινωπέων. πίραν—i.e. the side opposite Amphipolis, which lay to the east of the Strymon in a bend of the river; see iv. 102, 2.

15. αὐτόθεν—the second αὐτόθεν if genuine goes with οὐκ ἀν ξλαθεν. It is however a mere repetition, and probably ought to be omitted or altered to αἰτόν. Classen adopts the alteration, for which there is some slight manuscript authority.

16. ὅπερ...ἀναβήσεσθαι—ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν is to be taken with ἀναβήσεσθαι: the construction being appositional and explanatory of ὅπερ ποιόσει: iv. 125, 1, ὅπερ φιλεῖ...ἐκπλήγνυσθαι: 80 iii. 59, 3. ὑπεριδόντα: vi. 104, 4, ὑπερεῖδε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν. πλῆθος—of small numbers, as in iv. 10, 2, ἀντιπάλους τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πλῆθει.

19. παρεσκευάζετο—this governs Θρῆκας, and παρακαλῶν = οὓς παρεκάλει: see note on iv. 48, 3, παραιρήματα ποιοῦντες = παραιρήμασιν ἢ ἐποίουν. Edones are mentioned in iv. 109, 3, as dwelling on the peninsula of Acte: in i. 100, 3 as once holding Ἔννέα ὁδοῖ (Amphipolis).

21. Μυρκινίων—Myrcinus was an Edonian town (iv. 107, 3), N. of Amphipolis. ξύμπαν—predicate, 'in all'. For δισχιλιοι cf. Xen. Cyr. ii. 1, 25, ἡ δὲ τάξις ἦν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρες. The ιππῆς "Ελληνες were probably the Chalcidians, as we see from ch. 10, 51. For ἐς cf. iv. 48, 1, ἐς ἐξήκοντα Ἑλαθον διαφείραντες.

27. μετὰ Κλεαρίδου—Clearidas was sent out from Sparta and appointed governor of Amphipolis the year before, iv. 132, 3. For the Ionic 3rd plural ἐτετάχατο (=ντο) see note on iv. 31, 2, ὥδε γάρ διετετάχατο.

## CHAPTER VII

2. τέως μέν—followed by ἔπειτα without δέ, as is often the case with πρῶτον μέν: vi. 61, 6, τέως μὲν...ώς δέ.

4. τῇ ἔδρᾳ—so ii. 18, 3, ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ, of the delay of Archidamus at Oenoe: Hdt. ix. 41, περιημέκτες τῇ ἔδρῃ, 'was galled at remaining inactive'.

6. πρὸς οἷαν...μετὰ οἵας—so vii. 75, 6, ἀπὸ οἵας...ἔς οἷαν: cf. Soph. El. 750, ἀνωλόλιξε τὸν νεανίαν, οἱ ἔργα δράσας οἴα λαγχάνει κακά. οἴκοθεν stands first for the sake of emphasis. Several editors approve of Dobree's alteration of ξυνῆλθον into ξυνεξῆλθον. ἀνεπιστημοσύνης—'incompetence'; only here in Thucydides, though the adjective is found more than once.

8. αἰσθόμενος τὸν θροῦν—so iv. 66, 2: viii. 79, 1 etc.: cf. ch. 30, 1. διὰ τὸ...καθημένους—a confusion between the par-

ticipial construction and διὰ τό with the infinitive; so iv. 63, 1, διὰ τὸ...παρόντας: in viii. 105, 2, most manuscripts have διὰ τὸ...διώκοντες. Kruger however takes διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ as forming one expression ‘owing to their (being) stationary’, like ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστου, i. 2, 2. Stahl takes καὶ οὐ βουλόμενος by itself ‘although he did not wish it’; and makes αὐτούς governed by ἀναλαβὼν ἥγεν. The result is a sentence which can indeed be construed, but could scarcely have been written by anyone, while αὐτούς is in an almost impossible position.

10. ἀναλαβών—ch. 64, 23, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς ξυμμάχους. Here it means calling his men to their ranks and setting his army in motion.

ib. ἔχρησατο τῷ τρόπῳ—‘he adopted the principle the success of which at Pylos gave him confidence in his ability’. He prepared, that is, for a general assault upon the city at all points. *τρόπῳ* is then explained by what follows, and denotes the plan of attack. Many editors take *τρόπῳ* of Cleon’s ‘temper of mind’ and rash confidence; but would not this suggest the imperfect rather than ἔχρησατο? The sense is certainly good, and the aorist might imply a sudden fit of rashness. *ῷπερ* is an instrumental dative, or dative of accompaniment, with εὐτυχήσας; cf. ch. 1, 7, and for dat. ch. 14, 9.

11. ἐs τὴν Πύλον—the preposition *ἐs* is very loosely used by Thucydides to denote relation of any kind. Here it means the operations *at* or ‘in respect of’ Pylos, or Pylos is used in a general sense and includes Sphacteria. φρονεῖν τι—‘to have intelligence’; vi. 89, 6, οἱ φρονοῦντες τι: *so λέγειν τι* (*οὐδὲν λέγειν*).

13. κατὰ θέαν—‘to reconnoitre’; this phrase, like some of the rest of the sentence, sounds like a contemptuous reminiscence of Cleon’s actual words; cf. θέατο infr. and ch. 10, 9.

14. τὴν μεῖζω—as opposed to his παροῦσα στρατία, ch. 6, 18: see the beginning of ch. 6. τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ—with the certainty of success which a superior force would ensure: a sort of instrumental dative. Arnold compares vi. 55, 3, πολλῷ τῷ περιόντι τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς κατεκράτησε. περισχήσων—here ‘to gain the superiority’ as in viii. 105, 1, τῷ ἔργῳ πολὺ περισχόντες. In ch. 71 and elsewhere it is used of outflanking or extending beyond an enemy’s force. βίᾳ αἱρεῖν is the regular phrase for taking by assault, as opposed to a siege.

17. ἐλθών τε—‘so having come’. ἐπὶ λόφου—see ch. 10, 32. τὸ λιμνῶδες—cf. iv. 108, 1, ἀνωθεν μεγάλης οὖσης ἐπὶ πολὺ λιμνῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. It was this lake which helped to make Amphipolis of such importance as the key of the Thrace-ward district. ἐπὶ τῇ Θρᾳκῃ—‘over against’ or ‘commanding Thrace’: iv. 14, fin. ἐμενον κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ τῇ Πύλῳ.

22. *καὶ γὰρ οὐδέ*—the negatives here require attention: *οὐδέ*, ‘also not’, joins the whole sentence to what has gone before, while *οὐτε...οὐτε* connect *ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους* and *κατὰ πύλας ἔξηει*, the final verb *ἔξηει* being irregularly written instead of *ἔξιών*. See note on iv. 114, 3, *οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ οὐδέ κ.τ.λ.*, where there is no correspondence between *οὐδέ...οὐδέ*.

24. *μηχανάς*—used especially of scaling-ladders, according to Poppe. *κατῆλθεν*—this reading is probably right, and means ‘landed’, referring to Cleon’s arrival at Eion; cf. Eur. *Iph. T.* 39, *οὐς ἀν κατέλθη τήνδε γῆν*. This view is approved by Grote and Shilleto. The meaning is that Cleon regretted that he had not brought his own siege appliances, instead of waiting till they could be made, or furnished by the allies who were expected. Such things were soon constructed: thus the Spartans sent round the coast *ἐπὶ ξύλα ἐς μηχανάς* as soon as they resolved to attack Pylos (iv. 13, 1).

Arnold takes *κατῆλθεν* to mean that Cleon had descended from the *λόφος καρπερός* towards the city with a part of his forces. No such movement however is mentioned. Poppe approves of *ἀπῆλθεν* (sc. from Eion), which Classen adopts. This reading has some support from the fact that some inferior manuscripts have *ἀπῆλθεν*. Krüger suggests *ῆλθεν*.

## CHAPTER VIII

2. *καὶ αὐτὸς*—see note on ch. 6, 11. The words do not necessarily imply a corresponding *descent* from anywhere on the part of the Athenians, but simply show that Brasidas by coming down made a *counter-movement* on his part.

5. *δεδιώς*—‘mistrusting’, ‘having misgivings about’; cf. ch. 61, 22, *δεῖσαντες*. So *μέμφομαι* is sometimes used, e.g. Hdt. i. 77, *μεμφθεῖς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἑωντοῦ στράτευμα*.

6. *ὑποδεεστέρους*—sc. *τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ*, a sense easily supplied; possibly however *ὑποδεεστέρος* should be read. *ἀντίπαλα*, according to the scholiast, agrees with *ἐκάτερα τὰ στρατεύματα*. Poppe and Classen however take it to mean ‘things were fairly matched’, comparing iv. 117, 2, *ἀντίπαλα καταστήσαντος*: vii. 13, 2, *ἐς ἀντίπαλα καθεστήκαμεν*. This neuter phraseology is common, e.g. ii. 56, 1 *ἐτοῦμα ἡνῶ*: iii. 88, 1, *ἀδίνατα ἡνῶ*, etc. *ἀξιώματι*—‘quality’ (Jowett).

8. *καθαρόν*—the idea of *καθαρός* is ‘clear’ or ‘cleared’. As applied to troops it means either (1) ‘picked men’, clear of inefficients, or (2) according to the scholiast= *αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν*, ‘of pure Athenian blood’, with no admixture of aliens. In

Hdt. i. 211, we have *τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ*, ‘the effective force’, contrasted with *τοῦ ἀχρητοῦ*: and in Hdt. iv. 135, *τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ* is contrasted with sick troops left behind. Classen also quotes from Plut. *Aem. Paul.* ch. 6, *αὐτῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡλικία τὸ καθαρώτατον*. These passages are in favour of (1).

9. **Λημνίων καὶ Ἰμβρίων**—cf. iv. 28, 4, where we find Lemnians and Imbrians chosen by Cleon for his expedition to Pylos. ‘Lemnos had been taken and colonized by Miltiades a few years before the battle of Marathon (Hdt. vi. 140). Imbros was, I suspect, colonized also by him about the same time’ (Arnold on vii. 57, 2).

10. **ἐπιθησόμενος**—to be connected with *τέχνη*: the participle is joined to the verb without *ως*, as in ii. 91, 1, *παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνούμενοι*, etc.

11. **ἀναγκαῖαν**—‘make-shift’, such as *ἀνδργῆ* compelled him to use: i. 61, 2, *ξυμμαχίᾳ ἀναγκαῖα*: vi. 37, 2, *ἀναγκαῖα παρασκευή*.

12. **οὐκ ἀν ἥγεῖτο κ.τ.λ.**—‘(thinking that) he would be less likely to succeed than if he came upon them before there had been time to observe him, and when as yet they had no real grounds for their contempt of him’ (Jowett). **οὐ μᾶλλον =** *ησσον*, the usual *litotes*. **αὐτῶν** is the objective genitive, referring to *τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ*, and dependent on the active words *προόψεως* and *καταφρονήσεως*. In the last clause *μή* is a redundant negation, the negative form of the sentence being already determined by *ἀνεν*.

13. **ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος**—the preposition denotes the source or ground of the contempt which the enemy would feel, if they saw Brasidas’ actual force; cf. i. 91, 6, *ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλον παρασκευῆς*, ‘starting from, i.e. backed by equal defences’: iv. 18, 2 *ἀπὸ τῶν δει ὑπαρχόντων γνώμῃ σφαλέντες*. Somewhat similar in origin are various adverbial phrases with *ἀπό*, e.g. in the following chapter, line 14.

Classen and others restrict the force of *ἀνεν* to the first clause, and make *καταφρονήσεως* dependent on *μή ἀπό*, taking the whole clause as equivalent to *εἰ μὴ τοῦ ὄντος καταφρονήσειαν* ‘if the enemy should not despise their real weakness’. But, not to insist on the co-relation of the nouns coupled by *τε* and *καὶ*, *τὸ ὄν* is a strange expression for ‘their real strength’, though *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος* is a reasonable adverbial phrase. Moreover such a construction would refer to the main subject of the sentence, and would imply contempt felt by Brasidas for the enemy, a meaning which makes nonsense of the passage.

14. ἀπολεξάμενος—so iv. 9, 2, with *αὐτός*. προστάξας—vi. 42, 1, στρατηγῷ προστεταγμένοι. ἀπολαβεῖν—‘cut off’, or catch in an isolated state; iv. 14, 2, οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπελαμβάνοντο.

## CHAPTER IX

1. ἀπὸ μὲν οἵας—the protasis introduced by *μέν* contrasts generally the Lacedaemonians with their Ionian foes, the apodosis with *δέ* deals with the particular enterprise which Brasidas was about to attempt. ὅτι...ἔλευθερας—sc. ἡκουμεν ἀπὸ χώρας, the construction of the previous clause being repeated.

2. διὰ τὸ εὐψυχον—‘owing to its courage’; ii. 39, 2, πιστεύοντες τῷ εὐψύχῳ: so εὐψυχία, i. 84, 3; i. 121, 3. διὰ Δωριῆς...Ἴωσι—cf. vi. 77, 1, οὐκ Ἰωνες τάδε εἰσίν...ἀλλὰ Δωριῆς ἔλευθεροι. Poppe on i. 124, 1 cites other similar passages.

4. ἀρκεῖτω βραχέως—‘let a brief statement of this suffice’. The perfect participle implies that the fact is to be considered settled once for all.

5. τὴν δὲ ἐπιχειρησιν—put first for emphasis and contrast. For the word cf. i. 33, 3, ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιχειρησιν, ‘with a view to assailing you’. ἐπιχειρῶ with dative is often used in the sense of attacking.

6. τό τε καὶ δλίγον—the reading is not certain. The best manuscripts have *τῷ τε*, which leaves the sentence without a nominative to *παράσχῃ*. Poppe and others read *τό τε*: Classen considers the connexion of *τε* and *καὶ* out of place here, and reads *τῷ (=τῷ) τὸ καὶ δλίγον*. For *καὶ δλίγον*, ‘in small divisions’, see note on iv. 10, 3. ἐνδεῖς—lit. ‘deficient’, i.e. a disadvantage.

9. οὐκ ἀν ἔλπισαντας—‘because they never could have expected’; taking *ἀν* with the participle. Possibly however it is merely anticipatory, and belongs to the following subordinate construction where it is repeated; cf. Eur. *Med.* 941, οὐκ οἶδ' ἀν εἰ τείσαιμι. The following aorist optative with *ώς* *ἀν* is a rare instance: ἔλπιζων *ώς* with the future indicative occurs viii. 54, 1: so Eur. *El.* 919, ἔλπισας *ώς* ἔξεις: cf. ii. 42, 5, πενίας ἔλπιδ...*ώς* καν πλουτήσειαν. We have a similarly formed sentence in ii. 93, 2, οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία, μὴ ἀν ποτε οἱ πολέμοι ἔξατιναις οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν.

11. κατὰ θέαν—see ch. 7, 13. With the whole phrase we may compare ii. 40, 1, πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις.

13. **καὶ ἄμα**—connecting **ἴδων** with **πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν**.  
**πρός**—‘looking to, having regard to’, i. e. making the most of the force at his disposal. Brasidas did not feel strong enough to fight a pitched battle.

14. **ἀπὸ τοῦ...ἀντιπαραταχθέντος**—‘by way of counter-array’. The use of the neuter participle for an abstract substantive, or as equivalent to **τό** with the infinitive, is peculiar to Thucydides among prose writers; e. g. i. 36, 1, **τὸ μὲν δεδίος αὐτοῦ...τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν**: i. 142, 4, **ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι**, ‘in the want of practice’: ch. 102, 4, **μετὰ τοῦ δρωμένου**, ‘with action’: cf. infra **τοῦ μένοντος**. Krüger gives other instances. **τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ νικηθέν**, ii. 87, 2, is somewhat different: cf. **τὸ ποθοῦν**, Soph. *Phil.* 674; *Trach.* 196. See Goodwin § 108; Madv. § 180.

17. **κλέμματα**—‘stratagems’; Dem. *de Cor.* 236, **κλέμμα Φιλίππου**, ‘a trick of Philip’s’. **ἔχει**=‘bring’ or ‘involve’: cf. note on iv. 1, 1. **ἄ** is cognate accusative after **ἀπατήσας**: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 2, **πειράν τιν' ἀρπάσαι**. **ἄν** is repeated as in i. 36, 3: iv. 18, 3, etc.

21. **εἰς ὧν ἔμοι φαίνονται**—‘from what they clearly look like to me’; the personal construction, such as is usual with **δοκᾶ**, **ἴσους**, **λέγομαι** etc.: Plat. *Polit.* 280 B, **οὐκ ἔσπου τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν, ὡς φαίνει**.

22. **ἀνειμένῳ**—‘unstrung’, *dum sunt remissis animis*: i. 6, 1, **ἀνειμένῃ διαιτῇ**, ‘easy, luxurious’: ii. 39, 2, **ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι**. Classen adopts Krüger’s suggestion of **ξυνταθῆναι** for the following **ξυνταχθῆναι**. No doubt the converse of **ἀνίημι** ‘to slacken’ is **ἐπιτείνω** ‘to tighten’, which is commonly found metaphorically used like the Latin *intendo*. **ξυντείνω** is also used in a somewhat similar way, e. g. Plat. *Phaed.* 98 D, as antithetical to **χαλῶ**: so **συντεταμένος**, id. *Euthyd.* 288 D: *Rep.* 504 E: Xen. *Oec.* ii. 18, **γνώμη συντεταμένη**. Here however **ξυνταχθῆναι** may well be a *military* metaphor, contrasting a ‘close and firm array’ of mind with the ‘loose and feeble’ condition implied by **ἐν τῷ ἀνειμένῳ**.

23. **δόξαν**—‘ideas’, lit. ‘expectation’; as in the well-known passage ii. 42 (fin.), **ἄμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης**. Brasidas means that the Athenians’ ideas would be all abroad, in the confusion caused by a sudden attack.

27. **τοὺς μετὰ σεαυτοῦ**—see the end of ch. 6 for the amount of the force under Brasidas and Clearidas.

30. **ἐπεκθεῖν...ἐπείγεσθαι**—the only instance in Thucydides of the infinitive used for the 2nd person imperative. The construction, which has the subject in the nominative, is chiefly epic (Goodwin, § 101). The word **ἐπεκθεῖν** is used in iv. 34, 1, of soldiers in the field meeting the desultory attacks of light troops.

31. φοβηθῆναι—note the use of the aorist with ἀλπίς: iv. 9, 2 note. το...έπιον—the usual collective neuter, like ὄπλιτακόν, ch. 6, 23: cf. ii. 45, 1, φθόνος τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον.

36. νομίσατε εἶναι τοῦ κ.τ.λ.—it is possible in this sentence to make αἰσχύνεσθαι and πείθεσθαι dependent on ἔθελειν, in which case τό should be omitted before αἰσχύνεσθαι. More probably however the qualities of a good soldier are expressed by three coordinate infinitives. Classen makes this sense clearer by reading νομίσατε τρὶα εἶναι (with Stahl), in accordance with the scholiast's explanation, ἐκ τριῶν γίγνεται τὸ καλῶς πολεμεῖν. In similar sententious phrases a number is often named, e.g. i. 74, 1, τρία τὰ ὀφελιμώτατα παρεσχόμεθα, followed by three accusatives. Classen also repeats τό with πείθεσθαι, as being necessary for a clear coordinate sense.

ib. τὸ ἔθελειν—'readiness', 'alacrity'.—αἰσχύνεσθαι—like αἰσχυνή, 'self respect', 'a sense of honour': ii. 43, 1, ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυνόμενοι. αἰδὼς is used in the same way; see i. 84, 3, αἰδὼς σωφροσύνης πλείστον μετέχει αἰσχύνης δὲ εὑψυχίᾳ: cf. Hom. Il. v. 531, αἰδομένων ὀδρῶν πλέονες σόοι ἡὲ πέφανται.

38. η ἀγαθοῖς κ.τ.λ.—this sentence is complicated by the addition of accessory matter subordinate to the main ideas. Removing these accretions the outline stands thus:—(νομίσατε) η ἐλευθερίαν τε ὑπάρχειν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμάχους κεκλήσθαι, η Ἀθηναίων τε δούλους (κεκλήσθαι), τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς Ἑλλησι κωλυταῖς γενέσθαι ἐλευθερώσεως. The choice put forward is between two pairs of things, all of which are in construction expressed as subjects of ὑπάρχειν. In the second half of the sentence the order is inverted by the figure called *chiasmus*.

ib. ἀγαθοῖς γενομένοις—'if you quit yourselves like men'. The speaker omits the offensive suggestion of κακοῖς γενόμενοις or the like in the corresponding clause. κεκλήσθαι = 'the title of': ii. 37, 1, δημοκρατία κέκληται: iii. 82, 7, ράρον κακούργοι ὄντες δέξιοι κέκληνται. The perfect tense denotes that the name is permanently acquired.

40. Ἀθηναίων τε δούλους—τε is omitted in some manuscripts. If we retain it, we must suppose that a corresponding καὶ was intended, but owing to the insertion of additional clauses τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς is written instead. With δούλους understand κεκλήσθαι. It is possible to supply γενέσθαι, but the sense is not so forcible or the rhythm of the sentence so good.

ib. ην τὰ ἄριστα...πράξητε—'if you are most fortunate': superlative of εὐ πράσσειν: vii. 71, 1, μὴ χείρω πράξωσι. Krüger quotes an instance of the adjective thus used from Xen. *Anab.* vi. 2, 8, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράττειν. ἀνευ κ.τ.λ.—explanatory

of τὰ ἄριστα. ἀνδραποδισμοῦ—selling or carrying off into slavery, while δουλεία is merely a general though invidious word for subjugation of any kind. As Arnold says, ‘δουλός is the general term, applying equally to political and domestic slavery; ἀνδράποδος applies exclusively to the latter’. ἀνδραποδισμός, like the following forms in *ωσις*, is active in force. θανάτωσις is not found elsewhere till Plutarch.

42. καὶ δουλείαν—this clause is loosely connected with the last but one. In construction δουλείαν is either to be taken with ὑπάρχειν, in conformity to the main outline of the sentence, or it is a cognate accusative connected with δούλοις, as if δουλεύοντος (dative participle) had been written. In illustration of the latter view Jowett cites Plato, *Rep.* 579D, ἔστιν ἄρα ὁ τῷ ὅντι τύραννος τῷ ὅντι δοῦλος τὰς μεγίστας θεπείας καὶ δουλείας. To this we may add the construction of ἀτιμίαν after ἀτίμους ἐποίησαν in ch. 34, 15.

47. ἔργῳ—‘in deed’, opposed to παραινέσαι. It is not governed by ἐπεξελθεῖν, which does not take the dative in the sense of ‘carrying out’ or ‘prosecuting’ a plan, but either stands absolutely as here, or takes the accusative. See note on iv. 14, 3, τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπεξελθεῖν, which is similar in construction to the present passage.

## CHAPTER X

1. ὁ μέν—note the force of the following imperfects, and of the coordinate construction with μέν and δέ. While Brasidas, having made his speech, is now getting ready to sally out, Cleon is told of a movement on the enemy’s part.

3. Κλεαρίδα—Doric genitive; ch. 25, 2, ἐπὶ Πλειστόλα: so i. 103, 2, τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμῆτα. In ch. 6, 27 we have Κλεαρίδου. ἐπὶ τὰς Θρακίας—the Thracian gates seem to have led out on the north-eastern side of the town near the shore of the lake. The accusative with ἐπὶ denotes the quarter or direction in which the troops under Clearidas were appointed to serve. We may compare such phrases as καθιστάναι ἐπὶ ἀρχήν, etc.

5. ἐπεξίστευεν—here ἐπὶ in composition probably denotes the attack to be made by a *reserve* force, though it may simply mean ‘sally out to attack’.

ib. τῷ δὲ Κλέωνι—cf. iv. 93, 2, τῷ δὲ Ιπποκράτει...ὡς αὐτῷ ἤγγελθη. φανεροῦ γενομένου—with this are connected καταβάντος and the two following present participles. For the construction cf. Hdt. v. 26, ἀπικόμενοι φανεροί εἰσω: so Ar. *Vesp.* 735, δῆλός ἐστιν εὖ ποιῶν: the adjective with εἴμι being constructed like the corresponding verb.

8. Ἀθηνᾶς—from contracted nom. Ἀθηνᾶ=Ἀθηναῖα: see Lid. and Scott. θυομένου—the middle is used of the general who took the auspices by causing victims to be slain; so ch. 54, 7. This use of the word is common in Herodotus and Xenophon. τάῦτα—τὰ περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον (Poppo): but according to Krüger and others referring to θυομένου and denoting the ceremonial accompaniments of the sacrifice.

9. τότε—referring, as does τὴν θέα, to what has been already said in ch. 7, 21. ἀπαστα is emphatic, for Cleon thought the city was feebly guarded; see the latter part of ch. 7.

11. ὑπὸ τῶν...ὑποφαίνονται—the meaning is not perfectly clear, for ὑπό may mean either ‘under’ or ‘close up to’, and similarly ὑποφαίνομαι may mean either ‘apparere sub’ or ‘sub-apparere’. To translate ‘The feet of horses and men are to be seen under the gate’ gives a good sense; for the Athenians, as shown in Arnold’s note, might have got up close to the walls, and the roadway being worn hollow there would be a space at the bottom of the gates. For the accusative cf. ii. 17, 1, τὸ Πελασγικὸν τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. On the other hand the rendering ‘there are signs of’, etc. gives a more feeble conclusion of the sentence, especially after ἀπαστα...φανερά in the preceding clause, and is therefore, I think, less desirable, though quite consistent with the Greek. With this latter view it has been rather oddly suggested that τόδες may mean the sound of horses’ hoofs.

13. ἐπῆλθεν—‘came up’. πρὶν...ῆκεν—‘πρὶν with the infinitive after a negative is rare in the Attic poets, but more frequent in Attic prose’ (Goodwin § 106, 2): so i. 68, 2, οὐ πρὶν τάσσειν, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ Εὔγει φεύγειν: i. 39, 2, etc. Note the dative of with ἔκειν, a construction not uncommon with ἐλθεῖν.

16. σημαίνειν...ἀναχώρησιν—editors give no exact parallel to this cognate construction. The nearest is from Xen. *Anab.* iv. 3, 29, ἐπειδὼν ὁ σαλπιγκής σημήνη τὸ πολεμικόν.

ib. παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἀπιοῦσι—‘passed the word to the retiring force’. Classen reads παρήγγειλε, with some manuscript authority. παραγγέλλω, like σημαίνω, is a technical word for giving military orders; so παραγγέλσεις, ch. 66, 15. We might rather expect ἀπιοῦσι without τοῖς: see however note on ch. 5, 9. οἱ ἀπιόντες are the troops who had begun to carry out the order of ἀναχώρησις.

17. ἐπὶ τὸ εὐάρνυμον—with ὑπάγειν. The following note of Arnold’s shows how things stood. ‘The army was drawn up in line fronting Amphipolis, and as the left was nearest Eion,

the movement of retreat would naturally begin with that part of the army. Meantime the right should have maintained their position, and continued to face the enemy, in order to check pursuit till the other part of the army was fairly on its march to Eion'.

18. ὑπάγειν—of an orderly and deliberate retreat: so iv. 126, 6, κόσμῳ καὶ τάξῃ ὑπαγαγόντες. Eion was on the left bank of the river, like Amphipolis.

19. σχολὴ γίγνεσθαι—if the nominative *σχολή* is right, we must compare such phrases (mostly negative) as οὐκ αὐτῷ *σχολή* (ἐστι). *σχολὴ γίγνεται τινὶ* thus means 'a man finds he has (lit. gets) time', *γίγνεται* instead of *ἐστι* implying a change in the look of circumstances: so iv. 68, 5, ἀσφάλεια δὲ αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἐγίγνετο τῆς ἀνοιξεως. The meaning then is that Cleon no longer thought it necessary for the right wing to stand fast in order to cover the retreat, but supposed that the whole army might be safely withdrawn.

*σχολῆ*—'at leisure', i.e. in a slow and dilatory manner, has some manuscript authority, and is read by Krüger and Classen. It would mean that Cleon became uneasy and impatient at the time taken to carry out his orders, and so made a premature movement which proved disastrous. The subject of *γίγνεσθαι* is then to be supplied from the context; as in ch. 64, 20. For the adverbial use of *σχολῆ* cf. iii. 46, 2, εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται *σχολῆ καὶ τάχυ ξυμβῆναι*.

20. ἐπιστρέψας τὸ δεξιόν—the Athenians were fronting the town in line, looking west; they now faced to the left, and the line became a column heading southwards towards Eion. The right flank, which was not covered by the shield, was thus exposed to attack. For the military usage of *ἐπιστρέψω* and *ἐπιστροφή* see ii. 90, 3, *ἐπιστρέψαντες τὰς ναῦς*: cf. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1045, δαῖσιν ἀνδρῶν *ἐπιστροφά*. We have *τὰ γυμνά* in ch. 71, 6, also *γύμνωσις ib.* line 12: cf. iii. 23, 4, *ἐσηκόντιζον ἐς τὰ γυμνά*.

24. ὅτι—introducing the actual words; so i. 137, 4, *ἐδήλου δ'* ἡ γραφὴ δτι, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἥκω παρὰ σέ: so iv. 38, 2. For μένοντι Krüger reads *μενοῦσι*, but the present seems more forcible and appropriate. Krüger also reads δῆλοι δή and objects to *τοὺς ἐπιόντας* as otiose, and probably a gloss. In similar sentences however δέ often introduces an explanation or reason for a preceding statement. And *ἐπιόντας* has considerable force, viz. that 'a sudden onset' would be likely to rout unsteady troops like the Athenians.

27. ἀνοιγέτω—ἀνοίγω is the usual Thucydidean form; iv. 68, 3; iv. 74, 1, etc. The imperative use of ταὶ commonly implies 'any one (every one) concerned', as in ch. 20, 6; but the usage here is slightly different. ἀς ἀρηταὶ—sc. ἀνοίγεται.

29. τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρωμα πύλας—Thucydides does not tell us what this *σταύρωμα* was; but Grote's view is probably right, that it was an outwork constructed by Brasidas to secure the bridge over the Strymon. We learn from iv. 102, 2, that Amphipolis stood on a peninsula and was fortified by a wall from a point in the river's course above the city to a point below. In iv. 103, 4 we find that the bridge, which seems undoubtedly to have been below the city, was some distance from the fortress, and was not then connected with it by walls. Brasidas however had now held Amphipolis for eighteen months, and would no doubt have secured his hold on the bridge, the possession of which was of vital importance. He appears to have constructed a palisade, extending from a point in the city walls, and touching the river at some point below the bridge, which was thus brought within the line of defence. It is plain from the first part of chapter 8 that Brasidas had full command over crossing the river when he pleased.

The 'gate to the stockade' then led first into the space enclosed between the original wall and the new outwork; while the 'first gate in the long wall' was above the starting point of the stockade, and led directly out. The words τότε ὄντος show that the works had been altered when Thucydides wrote.

31. τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην εἴθειαν—for this accusative 'of the space traversed' cf. Eur. *Med.* 384, κράτιστα τὴν εἴθειαν (sc. ὁδὸς πορεύεσθαι). *ταύτην* denotes the road at the place spoken of, further explained by γῆπερ κ.τ.λ. οὐρας thus used is often to be rendered 'that'. *εἴθειαν* is predicate; lit. 'taking it straight'. The meaning is that Brasidas led his men straight up towards the ridge on which Cleon was posted; see ch. 7, 18. τὸ καρπότατον seems to be the steepest part of the ascent to this ridge, which connected the hill on which Amphipolis stood with the higher eminence of Mount Pangaeus to the east of the city.

32. Ιόντι—so i. 24, 1, Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιῷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον.

38. ξυνέβη τε—'and so it fell out'. This phrase, as Classen points out, is used of 'various concurrent circumstances', as in ch. 14, 1, etc. Here however it rather sums up and states the general result of 'concurrent circumstances', as phrases with *τε* are commonly used to conclude an account; e.g. iv. 26, 5, παρτί τε τρόπῳ ἔκάτεροι ἐτεχνώστο.

ib. καὶ ἔξαπίνης—probably to be taken with τῷ, though the connexion of an adverb with an adjective is certainly awkward. Poppe therefore proposes, with some manuscript authority, to leave out καὶ and to take ἔξαπίνης with the following infinitive, comparing iv. 36, 2, where ἔξαπίνη; and τῷ ἀδοκήτῳ occur in the same clause.

42. ἐπιπαριών—with the dative this word implies passing along to attack; πλησιάζων ἐπετίθετο τῷ δεξιῷ (schol.). In iv. 94, 2, the same word is used with the accusative of passing along the lines of a friendly army: so vi. 67, 4, with ξαστα. In iv. 108, 3, and vii. 76, we find it without a case following. Similarly ἐπειμι and ἐπῆλθον with the dative commonly denote hostile approach, but not so with the accusative. In Xenophon ἐπιπάρειμι is used of light troops advancing parallel to a marching army.

43. πεσόντα αὐτόν—Classen notes that this and viii. 102, 1, are the only passages where the aorist participle is used with αἰσθάνομαι to denote what has just happened. In 24 passages the present or perfect participle is found. See also ch. 30, 3.

45. ἔμενε μᾶλλον—several mss. have ἔμενέ τε, which is defended by Arnold as being answered by καὶ ἤμενοντο, and giving the sense ‘the right wing not only kept its ground, but, though Cleon himself fled, the soldiers formed in a ring and repulsed Clearidas in two or three attacks’. In favour of this view may be alleged the well known rule that in sentences coordinately constructed with μέν and δέ the clause with μέν (δέ μὲν Κλέων) is often subordinate in sense. See note on iv. 80, 3, προκρίναντες ἐς δισχιλίους, οἱ μέν...οἱ δέ κ.τ.λ.

48. οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ ξυστραφέντες—the subject of this clause is οἱ αὐτοῦ ὄπλιται, and the words ξυστραφέντες ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ‘rallying, or closing together on the hill’, are in apposition. ξυστραφέντες is put out of its grammatical place for the sake of the rhythm of the sentence, as noted on iv. 24, 2, ὄρωντες τὰς μὲν παρούσας δλίγας ναῦς, where δλίγας is the predicate. Compare the order in ch. 41, 1, οἱ πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι αὐτῶν.

From the position of αὐτοῦ we should naturally assume it to be the adverb of place rather than the personal pronoun, which would regularly take the order οἱ ὄπλιται αὐτοῦ, as in line 40. Poppe however takes it to be the pronoun, and compares iii. 22, 4, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν φυλακῆς: iii. 91, 1, ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν ξυμμαχικόν: viii. 48, 4, ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ. But in all these passages the reading αὐτῶν or αὐτοῦ can be supported, and is probably right; see note on ch. 71, 3. Here at any rate the adverbial

meaning 'on the spot' gives an excellent sense, contrasting the right wing, which stood its ground, with the left, which had retreated.

50. *καὶ οἱ τῇ τρίᾳ*—so i. 82, 3, *διελθόντων ἔτῶν καὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν*. With this emphatic use of *καὶ* may be compared *καὶ ἄταντες*, etc. Similar to it is the Tacitean use of *quoque* for *even*, lit. 'not only...but also'.

53. *οὗτος δέ*—Classen reads Krüger's suggestion *οὗτος δή*, the usual phrase for *tum demum*, e.g. i. 131, 1, *οὗτος δὴ οὐκέτι ἐπέσχον*. *τὸ στράτευμα*, the subject of the sentence, is resolved by partial apposition into *δοσοι μῆ...οι λοιποί*: cf. iv. 68, 2, *οἱ φρουροί... ήμένοντο δύλγοι...οι δὲ πλεῖοι*.

54. *χαλεπώς*—this adverb is used emphatically of a disastrous or hard-pressed retreat; iii. 23, 4, *χαλεπώς καὶ βιαιῶς*; iv. 25, 6, *χαλεπώς ἀπεχώρησαν*. For *ἐν χερσὶ* see ch. 3, 14.

58. *οἱ δὲ τὸν Βρασίδαν .. ἐτελεύτησεν*—there is a singular beauty in the simple form of this sentence, especially in the closing cadence. The sound of *ἐτελεύτησεν* recalls *ἀπηλλάγησαν* in the funeral speech of Pericles (ii. 42 fin.), and may be added to the reasons for there taking *ἀπηλλάγησαν* absolutely, 'they passed away'.

61. *νικῶσι*—'are victorious'; for this use of the present cf. *ἀδικῶ*, *φεύγω*, etc.; see Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, § 10, n. 5.

63. *νεκρούς*—the article is omitted with *νεκρούς* i. 54, 4: iv. 14, 4, etc.: so often with words which are repeatedly found in a particular context, as *ταῦδες καὶ γυναικεῖς* (of a captured town), *μέσον* (of an army), etc. Such words get in fact a definite force of their own, and can dispense with the article. See note on *πολεῶς* iv. 18, 2, and *μέσον* iv. 31, 2.

## CHAPTER XI

3. *Θεψαν*—it appears from Xen. *Hel.* vii. 3, 12 that this was the special honour of founders and benefactors of cities.

The historian says of Euphron, a military adventurer of Sicyon, *οἱ πολῖται αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀνδραίγαθον θεψάν τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ...*

*καὶ ὡς ἀρχηγέτην τῆς πόλεως σέβονται.* To show the rarity of such honours Arnold cites Cic. *Ep. Fam.* iv. 12, 3, where we find the Athenians refusing a place of sepulture within their walls to M. Marcellus, ‘quod religione se impediri dicerent; neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant’.

5. *περιέρχαντες*—elsewhere Thucydides uses the forms of *εἰργω*, and one manuscript here has *περιερχαντες*. *ξυνέρχεσθε* is found Soph. *Aj.* 593.

6. *ἐντέμνονται*—*ἐντέμνω*, according to the scholiast, like *ἐντομα* and *ἐναγλίω*, is properly used of offerings to the dead, or to the powers below, as opposed to sacrifices to the gods above. In the latter case the victim’s throat was held up and pierced; in the former its head was struck off on the ground. The present *ἐντέμνονται* and perfect *δεδώκαστι* imply a custom still continuing. Classen considers the style of expression appropriate to a writer who was connected with the neighbourhood, as we know that Thucydides was (iv. 105, 1).

8. *προσέθεσαν*—thus making Brasidas their tutelary hero.

9. *τὰ Αγγώνεια οἰκοδομήματα*—public buildings which commemorated Hagnon’s name as founder. These would include a shrine in his honour, if he was dead. He may however have been still alive, as it was only 15 years since he established the city (iv. 102, 3). In 429 we find him in Thrace (ii. 95, 3). The name of Hagnon occurs in ch. 19, 2, and ch. 24, 1, among the Athenian signatories, and in viii. 68, 4, we have a Hagnon mentioned as the father of Theramenes.

10. *εἴ τι μνημόσυνον*—‘si quod aliud deductionis eius monumentum superfuturum erat’: cf. Hdt. i. 185, *μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο*, of material works executed by queen Nitocris. *αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκίσεως*—*αὐτοῦ* refers to the preceding adjective ‘Αγγώνεια. The actual construction of the genitives is open to some doubt. Probably *αὐτοῦ* depends on *οἰκίσεως*, the more emphatic word standing first. It is however quite possible to take *αὐτοῦ* as dependent directly on *μνημόσυνον*, in which case *τῆς οἰκίσεως* is added, as a ‘genitive of further definition’ and depends on the combined *μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ*.

11. *σωτῆρά τε*—the two main divisions of the sentence are *τὸν μὲν Βρασιδαν...τὸν δὲ Αγγώνα*. The first of these divisions is expanded by a subordinate *τε* and *καὶ*, connecting the two ideas which led the citizens thus to honour Brasidas; gratitude to Brasidas himself, and a desire at the same time to court the

favour of Sparta. The construction as usual is modified by putting in a fresh governing participle; cf. ch. 28, 10, ὥρωντες τὸν τε πόλεμον ἐσόμενον, καὶ ἀμα ἐλπίσαντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἤγγεισθαι.

14. τὸ πολέμιον τῶν—'their hostility to Athens': in iii. 56, 2, τῷ ἐκείνων πολεμίῳ is 'their hostile feelings'.

15. ὅμοιως—probably 'as formerly': so i. 99, 2, ἡσαν οὐκέτι ὅμοιως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἀρχοντες. Krüger however understands 'as Brasidas'. ἡδέως—sc. σφίσι, according to the scholiast; but possibly Ἀγνωτι, for Hagnon, whether alive or dead, would be dishonoured in his sacred character of founder by the homage of a revolted town.

18. ἔπειτα—'so in the great battle of Corinth, fought A.C. 394, only eight Lacedaemonians were killed (Xen. *Hel.* iv. 3. 1). For such was the Spartan skill and discipline that, till their ranks were broken, they fought almost without risk' (Arnold).

19. τοιαύτης—referring to the description already given. προεκφοβήσεως is active in force. The word seems to occur nowhere else in classical Greek: φόβησις is not found and ἐκφόβησις has no classical authority.

23. καθίσταντο—as usual, of political arrangements. For the imperfect, see note on ch. 3, 30.

## CHAPTER XII

2. 'Ραμφίας—father of the Clearchus of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. In viii. 8, 2, and 39, 2, we find Clearchus holding a command in the Hellespont. ἦγον—'were on their way with'. An intended reinforcement had miscarried the year before owing to the influence of Perdiccas with the Thessalian chiefs (iv. 132, 2).

5. ἐς Ἡράκλειαν—the Lacedaemonian colony and place of arms at the foot of mount Oeta: cf. iii. 93, 94: iv. 78, note.

## CHAPTER XIII

2. Πιερίου—unknown; Arnold supposes it to be ‘a town of Thessaly, not far from Metropolis, and from the road leading from Pellinaeum and Athamania to Larissa’. Livy speaks of Piera (xxxii. 15) and Pieria (xxxvi. 14), for which Pialia or Cieria, the names of known places, have been proposed as emendations.

*ib.* οἱ περὶ—including Rhamphias himself; so iv. 33, 1, οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐπιτάδαν: viii. 56, 1, οἱ περὶ τὸν Πεισανδρον πρέσβεις.

3. κωλυόντων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν—the Thessalians, at the instigation of Perdiccas, had hindered Ischagoras from bringing reinforcements the year before (iv. 132, 2); and Brasidas was obliged to pass through Thessaly by stratagem in 424 (iv. 78).

*ib.* καὶ ἄμα—giving an important reason, which is further emphasized by φέρ. ἡσση—‘on, by reason of, being defeated’, dative of the efficient cause.

8. κάκεῖνος—‘he on his part’; lit. ‘they themselves were incompetent to carry out the plans which *he also* had in contemplation’. The *καὶ* emphasizes *έκεῖνος* by a co-ordination which is really false in sense. Jowett compares iv. 62, 3, τιμωρία οὐκ εὑτυχεῖ δικαῖως ὅτι καὶ εὐελπί, and says ‘in Greek the word *καὶ* commonly adheres to the standard of comparison (cf. ὥσπερ *καὶ*), in English the corresponding word adheres to the person or thing compared’.

9. τὴν εἰρήνην—the article denotes the peace which was thought of and discussed.

## CHAPTER XIV

1. ξυνέβη...ώστε—so Hdt. iii. 14, συνήνεκε ὥστε with inf. in a similar sense. Classen also compares i. 28, 3, ἐτοῖμοι ὥστε: i. 11, 9, δεηθέντες ὥστε, and other like instances. Only one clause is affected by *ώστε*, after which the general story goes

on with the indicative: so viii. 5, 2, ἀνατείθεται Ἀγις ὥστε Εὐβολας μὲν πέρι ἐπισχεῖν, τοῖς δὲ Λεσβίοις παρεσκεύαζε τὴν ἀπίστασιν.

The subject of ἔχον is resolved into two divisions, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι...οἱ δ' αὖτε Δακεδαιμόνιοι (line 14), and the construction is continued, chiefly in participial clauses, passing into the indicative towards the end of each division.

6. πληγέντες—of a severe blow: iv. 108, 5, ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς νευστὶ πεπληγμένων, of the same defeat at Delium. ἐπὶ τῷ Δηλίῳ—the battle of Delium was fought in the winter of 424: it is described in iv. 96. It was followed by the reduction of the fort which the Athenians had occupied (iv. 100). For the use of ἐπὶ for in or at cf. ch. 15, 10.

8. τὴν ἀπόδα τῆς ρώμης—‘their confidence in their strength’; cf. ii. 89, 8, καταλύσαι Πελοποννησίων τὴν ἀλτίδα τοῦ παυτικοῦ.

ῥώμη is here used of material power, as in iv. 18, 2, διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν νῦν ῥώμην πόλεως: so vii. 63 (fin.) opposed to ἀσθέτεια, καὶ μετὰ ἀσθέτειας καὶ ξυμφορῶν ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐπιστήμη κρείσσων ἐστίν ἔτερας εἰπυχούσης ρώμης. In iv. 29, 2, καὶ αὐτῷ ρώμην ἡ νῆσος ἐμπρησθεῖσα παρέσχε, it denotes mental confidence: so vii. 18, 1, τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις ἐγεγένητο τις ρώμη. There are besides two well-known passages where the word occurs, ii. 43, 3, ὃ μετὰ ρώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἀλτίδος...θάνατος: vii. 75, 3, εἰ τῷ προλείποι ἡ ρώμη καὶ τὸ σῶμα. In both of these passages Liddell and Scott take ρώμη in the sense of physical vigour, while Krüger understands it to mean spirit and confidence.

The passive of ρώννυμι seems generally used of eagerness and confidence: e.g. ii. 8, 1, ἔρρωντο ἐσ τὸν πόλεμον: iv. 72, 1, τολλῷ μᾶλλον ἔρρωσθησαν: vi. 17, 6, εἰ τάνυ ἔρρωνται: so ἐπέρρωσε, ‘re-encouraged’, iv. 36, 2.

9. ἥπερ—for the dative cf. ἀλτίδι ii. 42, 5: ii. 44, 3. προτερον—see iv. 21 and 41. τῇ παρούσῃ εἰπυχίᾳ—cf. iv. 14, 3, βοιλόμενοι τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ ὡς ἐπὶ τλείστον ἐπεξελθεῖν, where Classen takes the dative as not governed by ἐπεξελθεῖν, a view which the present phrase confirms.

11. ἔδεισαν—this form occurs iv. 55, 3; and as a var. lect. for ἔδεισαν iv. 117, 2. In several passages in other authors it is the manuscript reading. Grammatical authority is however in favour of ἔδέδισαν: see Veitch’s *Irregular Verbs*, under διω.

13. μετεμβοντο—this word is usually constructed with a

participle, as in ch. 35, 20: iv. 27, 2, *μετεμέλοντο τὰς σπουδὰς οὐ δεξάμενοι*. Here *οὐτὶ* is used, probably to avoid the juxtaposition of two participles. *καλῶς παρασχόν*—so i. 120, 3, *εὖ παρασχὸν ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν ξυμβῆναι*: iv. 85, 2, *ὅτε παρέσχεν*.

14. *οἱ δὲ αὖ Δακεδαιμόνιοι*—see iv. 41 and 55, where the despondency of the Spartans at this time is described in very similar language. For the mixture of participial constructions in this part of the sentence cf. iv. 8, 3, *διὰ ταχέων εργασμένον καὶ ἀνθρώπων δλίγων ἐνόντων*, and the passages there cited.

16. *δλίγων ἐτῶν*—‘within a few years’: ch. 74, 2.

18. *ἐν τῇ νήσῳ*—the usual expression for Sphacteria, as in ch. 15, 4. *γεγένητο*—vii. 18, 2, *ἔγεγένητο*.

19. *ληστενομένης*—see iv. 41 and 54 seq. *προσδοκίας...* *μῆ*—*προσδοκία* here implies fear or suspicion, and accordingly is followed by *μῆ*: so ii. 93, 2. Similarly *μῆ* follows *ὑποτοπῶ*, ii. 13, 1, and *ὑποπτεύω*, iii. 53, 2. *τοῖς ξέω*—so iv. 66, 2, *οἱ φίλοι τῶν ξέω*. *πίσυνος* is found in ii. 89, 4, *τῇ δυνάμει πίσυνοι*, and vi. 2, 6: but not elsewhere in Attic prose. It is used by Herodotus, and by the poets.

22. *πρὸς τὰ παρόντα*—cf. iv. 80, 1, *μὴ τι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τῆς Πύλου ἔχομένης νεωτερόσωσιν*. *ἄσπερ καὶ πρότερον* refers to the rising of the Helots in 465 (i. 101 seq.).

23. *ξυνέβαντε*—see note on ch. 10, 38. *τριακονταέτεις*—most manuscripts have this form or *τριακονταετεῖς*. Classen reads *τριακοντούτεις* with one manuscript, on the analogy of i. 23, 4, and other passages where that form occurs. There are however instances of the resolved form in Xenophon: and Thucydides has *πεντηκονταετίδων* in ch. 32, 22. It is in fact impracticable to insist on absolute uniformity even in the same author.

25. *ἐπ' ξέδῳ*—the same expression is used in ch. 28, 11; so that the truce lasted at any rate till 421.

26. *εἰ μή τις*—so iv. 68, 5, *εἰ μὴ πελσεταὶ τις*: see note on ch. 10, 27. *τὴν Κυνοσουρίαν γῆν*—on the borders of Argos and Laconia, iv. 56, 3: see also ch. 41, 6. Another form is *Κυνουρία* (Hdt. viii. 73 etc.), which is also read here in some manuscripts.

27. *ἄστι' ἀδύνατα*—i.e. therefore they must make terms with Athens, as difficulties impended on the side of Argos.

There is a similar condensation of the logical conclusion with *ώστε* at the end of iv. 85. For the neuter plural *δόύναται* cf. note on iv. 1, 2, *δόύναται ήν*.

30. *ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο*—see ch. 29 seq.

## CHAPTER XV

3. *οὐχ ἡσσον*—the usual *litotes* for ‘especially’; ii. 52, 1, *ἐπίσεις δὲ αὐτοὺς...καὶ οὐχ ἡσσον τοὺς ἐπελθόντας.*

ib. *ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν...κομίσασθαι*—the infinitive is added in explanation of the genitive. Poppe compares Plat. *Crito* 14 A, *οὐδὲ ἐπιθυμίᾳ σε δλλῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ δλλων νόμων θλαζεν εἰδέναι*: Xen. *Cyrop.* v. 2. 31, *οὐ δύναμαι ἐνοιήσαι ἀσφαλεστέραν οὐδὲ μίαν πορειαν ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν Βαθύλῶν πορειαν λέναι*. For *τῶν ἐκ τῆς νήσου* cf. iv. 108 (fin.) *βουλόμενοι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου κομίσασθαι*. It is a pregnant use of the preposition implying getting back the men who had been taken in the island: cf. ch. 34, 10, *τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου ληφθέντας*.

5. *οἱ Σπαρτιάται αὐτῶν*—‘those of them who were Spartans’, about 120 in number, iv. 38, 4. For the partitive genitive cf. iv. 61, 2, *οἱ Δωριῆς ἡμῶν*: iv. 126, 3, *τοῖς Μακεδόσιοι αὐτῶν*.

6. *πρῶτοι τε κ.τ.λ.*—‘either chief men or no less intimately connected with them’, i.e. with the home authorities, who were conducting the negotiations. For the half technical use of *πρῶτοι* cf. iv. 105, 1, *δύνασθαι ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις*: iv. 132, 2, *χρώμενος δὲ τοῖς πρώτοις*. At Sparta the word seems to have denoted some definite rank, though we do not know what.

*τε* and *καὶ* in this sentence have, I believe, a *disjunctive* force as in ii. 42, 2, *πρώτη τε μηνίουσα καὶ τελευταῖς βεβαιοῦσα*. *όμοιως* then means, not ‘all equally’, but ‘as much as the *πρῶτοι* themselves’; while *σφίσι* refers to the Lacedaemonian government, the main subject of the whole sentence according to sense if not in actual construction.

The words as they stand will fairly bear a satisfactory sense; but many editors believe that there is something wrong in the text, while some consider that *όμοιως* is a corruption of some form denoting the *όμοιοι* or ‘peers’, who were the leading caste among the free Spartans. Reiske accordingly proposes *όμοιων*, and Bekker *όμοιοις*, ‘related to them (who were) their

peers', *σφίσιν* referring to *Σπαρτιάται*. Krüger suggests *τῶν ὄμοιων* 'belonging to the peers', leaving out *σφίσι* ξυγγενεῖς as an interpolated gloss. Stahl prefers *όμοιοι σφίσι ξυγγενεῖς* = *ἄτε δμοῖοι δύτες*.

Plutarch (*Nic.* 10) says *οἱ ἐκ Πύλου κομισθέντες ήσαν ἐξ οἰκων τε πρώτων τῆς Σπάρτης καὶ φίλους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἔχοντες*, but these last words are a mere paraphrase, and do not help us to determine the reading in Thucydides. They are at any rate not sufficient to justify what Classen proposes to read, *πρώτοι τε καὶ οἰκοις ἐπιφανέσι ξυγγενεῖς*.

7. *τῆρξαντο*—see iv. 15 seq. The negotiations were broken off by the overbearing conduct and rough behaviour of Cleon, but it must be remembered that the Spartans are not recorded to have offered any terms which the Athenians could fairly be expected to agree to. *οὕπως*—the reading of the best manuscripts, cited from this passage by the grammarians Photius and Suidas. *οὕπω* has also good manuscript authority.

8. *εὖ φερόμενοι*—so ch. 16, 12: ii. 60, 2, *καλῶς φερόμενος*. *φέρεσθαι* denotes movement, as we say 'going on well', and speak of 'a prosperous course'. *ἐπὶ τῇ Ιση*—so i. 27, 1, *ἐπὶ τῇ Ισῃ* καὶ ὄμοιᾳ. Such feminine phrases are common; see note on *ἐξ ἐναντίας*, iv. 33, 2.

11. *μᾶλλον ἀν δεξαμένους*—several manuscripts have *ἀν ἐνδεξαμένους*: some omit *ἀν*, or read *ἐνδεξαμένους*. There are undoubtedly instances, such as vi. 20, 1, and vii. 67 (fin.), in which the manuscript authority is in favour of *ἀν* with the future participle; while in others the future infinitive is found with *ἀν*, as in ii. 80 (fin.) and viii. 25 (fin.). In such cases the manuscript reading was generally retained by the older editors, but modern critics omit *ἀν* or change the future into the aorist.

12. *τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκεχειρίαν*—see iv. 117 seq. *ἔδει*—i. e. as was then arranged; the imperfect refers to the time when the treaty was made. *τοῦ πλείονος χρόνου*—see note on iv. 30 (fin.), *περὶ τοῦ πλέονος*.

## CHAPTER XVI

4. *ἀριφοτέρωθεν*—at Athens and Sparta.

5. *ἡναντιοῦντο*—so Plut. *Nic.* 9, *οἱ μάλιστα προσπολεμοῦντες τῇ ειρήνῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Κλέων καὶ Βρασίδας ησαν, ὃν ὁ πόλεμος τοῦ μὲν ἀπέκρυψε τὴν κακίαν τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκόσμει.*

6. δέ...διαβάλλων—‘and the other because he fancied that in quiet times his rogueries would be more transparent and his slanders less credible’ (Jowett). No doubt Cleon had been the main promoter of war since the affair of Sphacteria; but, according to the historian’s own testimony, it is the grossest injustice to ascribe the policy which he advocated to personal motives only and those of the lowest kind.

8. τότε δέ—‘then, I say’; an instance of δέ used resumptively after a parenthetical interruption: so i. 11, 1, ἐπειδή δέ .. φαίνονται δέ οὐδέ ἔνταῦθα κ.τ.λ. There is a slight manuscript authority for τότε δή, which is adopted by Krüger.

ib. οἱ ἐν—these two words are found in three manuscripts, and are read by most editors. Classen however omits them, and takes ἐκατέρᾳ τῇ τόλει as governed by σπεύδοντες, comparing Eur. *Iph.* T. 579, ὑμῶν τ' δυησιν, ὡς ξένοι, σπεύδοντος ἀμα κινοί. σπεύδοντες means ‘anxiously promoting’, ‘eager for’; vi. 10, 2, ὅπερ νῦν σπεύδομεν: vi. 40, 1, κακὰ σπεύδοντες. There seems however no other instance of a substantive thus governed without a dative. This is in favour of Classen’s view. I should incline to retain οἱ and omit ἐν.

10. ἡγεμονίαν—this word is open to suspicion, as it is not elsewhere used of the civil ascendancy of a statesman in his own city, which would be the meaning here required. It denotes (1) the command in war, as in iv. 91, 2, ἡγεμονίας οὐσης αὐτοῦ: vii. 15, 2, πολλὰ ἐν ἡγεμονίαις ἴμας εὐ ἐποίησα: (2) the sovereign leadership held by a state such as Sparta or Athens. Such leadership would be attained by war rather than by peace; nor were Pleistoanax and Nicias the men to promote the supremacy of their respective countries. It has been suggested that it means a joint leadership of Greece by Athens and Sparta; but to give this force, some qualifying word, such as κοινή, would be required. Some editors therefore propose ὁμόνοιαν, ὁμολογίαν, or some similar word, which gives good sense and agrees with ch. 17, 8, προΐθυμηθη τὴν ξύμβασιν.

Classen, following Stahl, takes a different view, and reads μάλιστ' αὐτήν (sc. εἰρήνην). He supposes that this had been corrupted into μάλιστα τήν, and then a substantive conjecturally supplied. Jowett suggests omitting οἱ ἐν and referring τότε δέ...ἡγεμονίαν to Cleon and Brasidas, not to Pleistoanax and Nicias, ‘these (Cleon and Brasidas) being at that time the two great champions for the supremacy of their respective states’. The apodosis then begins at Πλειστοάναξ re. This gives an intelligible sense to ἡγεμονίαν, but the position of the clause is very awkward, and it seems clear that τότε δέ ought to begin the apodosis.

11. πλεῖστα—cognate or determinant accusative with φερόμενος. εὐ φερόμενος—ch. 15, 9. Nicias was indeed the only Athenian general of the day who had not met with some great disaster. Demosthenes had been totally defeated in Aetolia in 426. The commanders of the Sicilian expedition had been compelled to withdraw ignominiously in 424. In the same year Hippocrates was defeated and slain at Delium, and Thucydides lost Amphipolis. Cleon had perished at Amphipolis in 422.

14. ἡξιοῦτο—either (1) absolutely ‘was held in honour’, or (2) ‘was so esteemed’, referring to ἀπαθῆς ἦν. In support of the former view editors cite Porson on Eur. *Hec.* 319, τύμφοι δὲ βουλούμην ἀν δξιούμενον τὸν ἔμδν ὁρᾶσθαι.

I incline however to (2), for the use of ἀξιῶ meaning simply ‘to honour’, though found in the tragedians, seems not to occur elsewhere in Attic prose; and by rendering the words ‘was so accounted’ we get an excellent sense. It was his reputation as a successful general as well as his actual success which Nicias was anxious to preserve; and ἡξιοῦτο with this meaning is answered by καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα below, just as πόνων πεπαῦσθαι corresponds to ἀπαθῆς ἦν. So Demosthenes (*Lept.* 482) says of Chabrias, δοκῶν καὶ ὡν ἀσφαλέστατος στρατηγὸς ἀπάντων.

15. διασώσασθαι—the aorist implies securing his good fortune by one definite act, such as the conclusion of peace.

15. πεπαῦσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς—i.e. καὶ αὐτὸς πεπαῦσθαι, or rather παῦσαι is added by a slight change of construction to govern πολίτας. See iii. 67, 6, ἀμύνατε καὶ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἡμῖν...ἀνταπόδοτε χάριν, where other instances are cited by Poppe.

17. καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα—cf. vi. 33, 6, τοῖς ἐπιβουλευθεῖσιν δνομα καταλείπουσιν: vi. 16, 5, προσποιησιν ξυγγενεῖας καταλιπόντας. διεγένετο—a second compound with διά, emphasizing the fact that Nicias did not retain his good fortune ‘throughout his career’: cf. Ar. *Av.* 45, δπου καθιδρυθέντε διαγενούμεθ’ ἀν.

19. καὶ δστις—lit. ‘and (falls to a man) who’, etc. Far harsher constructions with δστις are not uncommon: see instances cited on iii. 45, 5, πολλῆς εὐηθεῖας, δστις οἰται: iv. 18, 2, σωφρόνων δὲ ἀνδρῶν, οῖτινε...ἔθεντο.

Thucydides puts similar words in Nicias’ mouth at the time of the Sicilian expedition, vi. 23, 3, δ τι ἐλάχιστα τῇ τύχῃ παραδοὺς ἐμαυτὸν βούλομαι ἐκπλεῖν. ‘We can hardly suppose’, says Professor Jowett, ‘that Thucydides wrote these words without intending silently to recall to the reader’s mind the singular contrast between the hopes of mortals

and their final destinies, or without a recollection of the old Greek saying, that no man could be called happy before he died. He who desires only peace may be the author of war; he who aims only at the safety of the state may, by the irony of fortune, be the prime mover in its destruction.'

22. *ἴς ἐνθυμίαν...προβαλλόμενος*—lit. 'put forward as a matter of (religious) anxiety', explained further by *ὡς διὰ κ.τ.λ.* The personal construction may be illustrated by such expressions as Ar. *Nub.* 1241, *Ζεὺς γέλοιος δμυύμενος*, 'it is absurd to swear by Zeus'.

The form *ἐνθυμία* seems not found elsewhere in classical Greek. The adjective *ἐνθύμιος* is however common, e.g. vii. 50, 4, *ἐνθύμιον ποιούμενοι*: Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 739, *τι δ' ἔστι σοι τοῦτο* *ἐνθύμιον*; similarly *ἐνθυμεῖσθαι* is used of laying a thing to heart, as in ch. 32, 6.

23. *δπότε τι πταλσιαν*—for the construction cf. iv. 18, 3, *ἐλάχιστα πταλούτες*.

24. *παρανομηθεῖσαν*—'illegally effected'. This construction is best explained as the passive equivalent of a cognate accusative with the active. We say *ἀδικῶ τοῦτο*, 'I commit a wrong in this', and in the passive this becomes *τοῦτο ἀδικεῖται*, 'this is a wrong act'. The participle here has its predicative force, as in iii. 20, 1, *τῷ σίτῳ ἐπιλιπόντι ἐπιέζοντο*, 'they suffered from failure of the corn'. Classen takes it merely as part of the epithet, comparing for its position such passages as iii. 56, 1, *κατὰ τὸν πᾶσι νόμον καθεστώτα*. This however weakens the sense: see note on iv. 87, 2, *τοῖς ἀπὸ ὑμῶν χρήμασι φερομένοις παρ' Ἀθηναῖοις*.

25. *τὴν πρόμαντιν*—so Hdt. vi. 66, *Περιαλλαγ τὴν πρόμαντιν ἀναπειθεῖ*: id. vii. 111, *πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέουσα, κατά περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι*.

26. *πεῖσαι...ῶστε*—so iii. 70, 3, *πεῖθει ὥστε τῷ γόμῳ χρήσασθαι*: ii. 2, 4, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο *ῶστε εὐθὺς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι*: so ii. 101, 3, with *ἀναπειθεῖσαι*. This construction connects two ideas less immediately than if the simple infinitive were employed. The meaning here is that the result of their persuasion (or bribery) was that the priestess gave oracles in their interest. We have a double construction with *ῶστε* in viii. 45, 3, *τοὺς τριηράρχους ἔδιδασκειν ὕστε δόντα χρήματα αὐτὸν πεῖσαι ὕστε ξυγχωρῆσαι ταῦτα ἔαυτῷ*.

28. *ἐπὶ πολὺ*—of extent of time, as in iv. 72, 2, where see note. *Θεωροῖς ἀφικνούμενοις*—'when they came on the public behalf to consult the oracle'. 'On a former occasion, when the Pythoness was bribed by the Alcmaeonidae to inculcate on

the Spartans the duty of delivering Athens from the Pisistratidae, Herodotus says, that she repeated this charge not only to the *θεωροί*, who came on the public behalf, but also to any Lacedaemonian who consulted the oracle on his own private affairs. The duties of *θεωροί* at Sparta were performed by the four *Πύθιοι*, two being nominated by each of the kings, who were maintained with the kings at the public expense, and who together with them read the answers which the oracle returned. See Hdt. vi. 57 : Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 15' (Arnold).

*ib. Διὸς νιοῦ ἡμιθέου*—‘the Heraclidae at Sparta were believed to hold the kingly power by an inalienable right, derived from the original compact made between their ancestors and the Dorians, when they jointly invaded Peloponnesus’ (Arnold).

30. *ἀναφέρειν*—i. e. *κατάγειν*. *χράω* and similar words, like other words of commanding or warning, commonly take the present or aorist infinitive, in the sense of bidding or of oracular intimation. Sometimes, as in the next clause, when promise or prediction is especially implied, we have the future: ii. 102, 4, *λέγεται Ἀλκμαλωι τὸν Ἀπόλλω ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσαι οἰκεῖν*: i. 118, 3, *ἀνεῖλεν αὐτοῖς νίκην ἔσεσθαι*: see Goodwin’s *Moods and Tenses*, § 98

*ib. ἀργυρέᾳ εὐλάκῳ εὐλάξειν*—meaning either that they should be obliged to purchase their corn at a great price, or that they should find agriculture costly and unprofitable. *εὐλάκα* is said to be an old Laconian word for a ploughshare, and *εὐλάξειν* to be equivalent to *ἀρόσειν*. Neither noun nor verb are found elsewhere.

31. *προτρέψας*—the run of the sentence seems in favour of taking this as following *ὡστε* and, like *χρῆσαι*, referring to the *πρόμαντις*. Grammatically it might depend on *ἐπηγιῶντο*, and correspond to *πεῖσαι* in construction. The following *αὐτὸν* would then refer to Pleistoanax, the primary subject, according to the rule set forth by Poppe on i. 17, 1; see note on iv. 50 (fin.).

*ib. φεύγοντα...εἰς*—*φεύγειν* often means ‘to be in exile’, as in this passage, and in ch. 26, 28. It still however retains the construction of a verb of motion, and is followed by *εἰς* rather than by *ἐν*. *Δύκαιον*—ch. 54, 3, *πρὸς τὸ Δύκαιον*, the only other place in Thucydides where the word occurs. Lycaeum was a mountain in Arcadia, with a temple of Zeus *Δύκαιος*.

32. *διὰ τὴν...ἀναχώρησιν*—this was in 445, (i. 114, 3: ii. 21, 1). *μετὰ δώρων δοκοῦσαν*—‘propter suspicionem acceptas ob discessum pecuniae’: so ii. 21, 1, *διὸ δὴ καὶ ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο*

ἐκ Σπάρτης δόξαντι χρήμασι πεισθῆναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. δοκεῖν in the sense of 'to be reputed' is often used like *videor*, to imply a judicial decision: δοκῶ = 'I am held (guilty)', ἔδοξα 'I was found (guilty)': cf. ch. 72, 5, δόξαντας μαλακισθῆναι.

There is some curtess in the use of *μετὰ δώρων* to mean 'effected by bribery', and the reading is not free from doubt. Most manuscripts have δόκησιν followed by ζως. Suidas interprets δώρων δόκησιν as equivalent to δωροδοκίαν, and some commentators propose δώρων δοκήσεως in the same sense. There is however no sign of the existence of δόκησις in the sense of 'receiving' connected with δέχομαι: while it occurs several times in Thucydides as derived from δοκῶ. δωροδόκησις would be a word legitimately formed from δωροδοκεῖν, though it is not found in the lexicons; and possibly *μετὰ δωροδόκησιν* or *μετὰ δώρων δοκήσεως* is the true reading, or else, as Stahl reads, *μετὰ δώρων δοκήσεως*, 'with the imputation of bribery'. Classen suggests, *μετὰ δωρωδοκήσεως δοκούσαν ἀναχώρησιν*.

33. *ἡμισυ τῆς οἰκίας*—these words are governed directly by *οικοῦντα*, and *τοῦ ιεροῦ* is predicative: it is the partitive genitive, 'belonging to the temple'. Half of the house in which he lived at this time was in the sacred precinct of Zeus. 'The reason was, that he might be in sanctuary at an instant's notice, and yet might be able to perform some of the common offices of life without profanation, which could not have been the case had the whole dwelling been within the precinct' (Arnold). In the same way Pausanias, when threatened with arrest, fled to the temple of Athene of the Brazen House, *καὶ εἰς οἰκημα οὐ μέγα δὴ τοῦ ιεροῦ ἐσελθὼν... ἡσύχαζεν* (i. 134, 2).

*ἡμισυ* is found without the article i. 8, 1, ὑπὲρ *ἡμισυ Κάρπες ἐφάνησαν*: viii. 68, 4, ὑπὲρ *ἡμισυ τοῦ χρόνου*. It is one of the terms which from frequent use acquire a definite force, just as we say 'half the time'. There is too a general tendency to omit the article in such prepositional phrases.

34. *φόβῳ τῶν*—many manuscripts have *φόβῳ τῷ*, but *τῶν* is the usual form, as in ch. 11, 13.

35. *ἴτα*—this was in 426 or thereabouts, for the retreat for which he was banished was in 445; see line 32. During his banishment his son Pausanias, a minor, was king (iii. 26, 2). *τούς βασιλέας*—Eurysthenes and Procles, twin sons of Aristodemus; see Hdt. vi. 52.

## CHAPTER XVII

5. ἀνεπίληπτος—‘not open to attack, or censure’: Eur. *Or.* 922, ἀνεπίληπτον (var. lect.) ἡσκηκώς βίον: Xen. *Anab.* vii. 6, 37, ἔξεστιν ἀνεπιλήπτως πορεύεσθαι: cf. Soph. *Ant.* 406, ἐπίληπτος ὥρεθη: and see ἐπιλαμβάνω.

6. ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμφορῶν—ἀπό, ‘from’, denotes the origin and cause: ii. 25, 2, ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ τολμήματος ἐπηνέθη.

7. προύθυμήθη τὴν ξύμβασιν—the cognate construction (*τι*, *τοῦτο* etc.) is here extended to the substantive: so viii. 90, 2, *τὴν δύολογίαν προύθυμοῦντο*: viii. 1, 1, *τοῖς ξυμπροθυμηθέσι τὸν ἔκπλουν*.

8. καὶ τόν τε—the punctuation in the text is that of Poppe and Krüger, according to which *τὸν τε χειμῶνα ἥσταν* is answered by *καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ παρασκευή τε προεπανεστέσθη...καὶ ἐπειδὴ*. ‘The final result (*τότε δή*) was due first of all to the threatening attitude of the Lacedaemonians; secondly, to the circumstance that the commissioners of both parties were just then finding, after many disputes, a possible basis of agreement’ (Jowett). The second division of this sentence is inconveniently long and complicated, and possibly Classen is right in putting a stop after *πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἥδη* (sc. *ἥσταν εἰς λόγους*), and beginning a fresh sentence with *παρασκευή τε*.

9. πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ—so ch. 39, 20. ἥδη—ch. 59, 3, ἡμέρας ἥδη: i. 30 (fin.) *χειμῶνος ἥδη*. προεπανεστέσθη=προηπειλήθη, as explained by the scholiast, ‘there were threatening demonstrations of an expedition on the part of Lacedaemon’. It is a metaphor from brandishing a weapon at a foe; cf. iv. 126, 4, ἡ ἐπανάσεισις τῶν ὅπλων ἔχει τινὰ δῆλωσιν ἀπειλῆς: see ἐπαναστέω.

10. ἀπό—‘on the side of’; iii. 65, 5, γνῶμαι ἀφ’ ἐκάστων ἐλέγοντο. περιαγγελλομένη—ii. 85, 2, ναῦς περιήγγελλον κατὰ πόλεις: see note on iv. 8, 2. περιαγγέλλω in this sense takes either the infinitive, or an accusative of the force demanded.

11. ὡς ἐπὶ τειχισμόν—several manuscripts have ὡς ἐπιτειχισμόν, and Arnold therefore approves of ὡς εἰς ἐπιτειχισμόν, comparing i. 50, 5, where ὡς εἰς ἐπίπλουν is an accepted emendation of the manuscript reading ὡς ἐπίπλουν. ἐπιτειχισμός is no doubt a suitable word: it occurs in i. 122, 1, ἐπιτειχισμός τῇ χώρᾳ: and we have ἐπιτείχισις in i. 142, 1. The simple form τειχισμός however seems used of the construction of hostile works in general, as in viii. 34, 2, παρεσκευάζοντο εἰς τὸν

*τειχισμόν*. Poppo accordingly retains *τειχισμόν* in his text, and is followed by modern editors.

12. ἄμα—rightly taken by Jowett as connecting ξυνεχωρεῖτο with *προεπανεστέσθη*.

13. δικαιώσεις—‘claims’ or ‘demands’ professedly grounded on justice; i. 141, 1, ἡ τε μεγιστῇ καὶ ἐλαχίστῃ δικαιώσις. *προενεγκόντων*—this sentence has two instances of the genitive absolute with subject understood. *προφέρω*, active, iii. 64, 1: middle, iii. 59, 2: passive, ch. 26, 24.

ib. ξυνεχωρεῖτο—Classen notes that this is a solitary instance of the passive of this word used impersonally. The imperfect, as he also points out, denotes the slow and difficult settlement of satisfactory terms. For ὥστε, of conditions, cf. iv. 46, 2, ὥστε λελύσθαι τὰς σπουδάς: Goodwin § 587, 2.

14. έσχον—‘won’; έχειν ‘keep’. αὐτῶν—explained by the preceding Πλάταιαν: so in iv. 1, 1, αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγομένων follows Μεσσήνην κατέλαβον. Plataea surrendered in 427: the city was destroyed and the land occupied by the Thebans (iii. 52 sq.).

18. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι...Νίσαιαν—sc. έχειν έφασαν: see iv. 69. The Athenian claim to Nisaea rested on the same grounds as the Theban claim to Plataea, both places having been compelled by famine to agree to terms.

19. παρακαλέσαντες—i. 67, 1, παρεκάλουν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοὺς ξυμμάχους. πλὴν Βοιωτῶν—the allies generally regarded with suspicion a private arrangement between Athens and Sparta; while the Boeotians were unwilling to restore Panactum, and the Megarians resented the Athenian occupation of Nisaea. In chapters 30 and 31 we find the particular grounds of dissatisfaction on the part of Corinth and Elis.

22. τῶν ἀλλῶν—added to define further the subject of ψηφισαμένων, all the other states but those mentioned. τούτους refers to the states in question. ὥστε—cf. vi. 88, 9, ψηφισάμενοι αὗτοι ὥστε ἀμύνειν.

26. τάδε—‘as follows’; cf. 76, 20: iv. 117 fin. γίγνεται ἔκεχειρα...ἢδε.

## CHAPTER XVIII

The provisions of the treaty now concluded should be compared with the year's truce made the year before as recorded in iv. 118. 'The fifty years' peace is based not, like the treaty which preceded it, upon the principle of *uti possidetis*, but on that of compensation. As in the preliminary treaty, the right of access to the Delphic oracle is maintained for all Hellenes; and a clause is inserted guaranteeing the Delphians their independence. Great concessions are made by Sparta to Athens, chiefly in return for the Spartan captives' (Jowett).

The language of the treaty is sometimes awkward in expression, but the meaning is clear throughout. The main clauses have the usual infinitive construction alternating with the imperative.

2. **καὶ οἱ ἔνμαχοι**—the allies of Sparta alone are mentioned, as in lines 55 and 61. The Athenians seem to have acted independently. On the other hand we have in iv. 119, 1, *ξυνέθεντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ἔνμαχοι Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοῖς ἔνμάχοις*: cf. ch. 47, 3.

4. **κοινῶν**—the *κοινὰ ἱερά* are spoken of iii. 57, 1. They were 'those of Delphi, Olympia, Nemea, and the Isthmian Neptune, at which the four great national festivals of games were celebrated; that of Jupiter at Dodona, possibly of Abae in Phocis, and any others at which oracles were delivered' (Arnold).

ib. **καὶ λέγαι**—apparently, as Arnold points out, a provision for the safe conduct of worshippers on their way to the temples, as well as in performing their religious offices when there. The position of the words after *θύειν* is awkward, and they are bracketed as doubtful by Krüger and Classen. Arnold however justly observes that in all formal instruments many words are inserted to prevent the possibility of evasion, which in ordinary language would be deemed superfluous.

5. **Θεωρεῖν**—to go, or send envoys to the games: viii. 10, 1, *τὰ Ἰσθμια ἐγλγνετο καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐθεώρουν ἐς αὐτά*. 'The exclusion from the games was considered an especial grievance, as it implied an unworthiness in the persons excluded to appear before the god in whose honour the festival was celebrated: see ch. 50, 7; and Livy ii. 37, 38' (Arnold).

7. **τὸ ιερόν**—the whole of the sacred precincts; see note on iv. 90, 2. **αὐτονόμους κ.τ.λ.**—'independent as regards laws

and imposts and jurisdiction'. In 449 the Athenians had placed the temple in the hands of the Phocians (i. 112, 5). The genitive *αὐτῶν* depends on the idea of 'control over', which is implied in the preceding adjectives, especially *αὐτορόμους*.

15. *ἐπὶ πημονῆ*—so ch. 47, 6; an old and poetic word, used in the language of treaties by Thucydides. In line 28 we have *ἐπὶ κακῷ μῆτε τέχνη κ.τ.λ.*—ch. 47, 10 and 57: Dem. *Timocr.* 747 (150), *οὐδὲ δῶρα δέξομαι οὐτε τέχνη οὐτε μηχανῆ οὐδεμίᾳ*, from the oath taken by the *ἡλιασταῖ*.

19. *τι διάφορον*—'any difference or disputed point', as in the passages cited in the next note, and others quoted by Krüger on i. 56, 1, *γενέσθαι διάφορα*. We have the singular in vii. 55, 2, *ἐπενεγκεῖν τι τὸ διάφορον*, where the word probably means a 'cause of dissension'. In vii. 75, 7, it means a reverse.

20. *δίκαιω*—some few mss. have *δίκαιις*, which we should rather expect, comparing i. 78, 3, *τὰ δὲ διάφορα δίκη λύεσθαι*: i. 140, 5, *δίκας τῶν διαφέρων ἀλλήλους διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι*. *δίκαιον* means what is in accordance with justice, a just principle, point, or consideration, or as we say 'a right'; so iii. 54. 1, *παρεχόμενοι ἀ ἔχομεν δίκαια*. The sense here required is 'just or legal course of procedure', and it is so taken by Krüger and Classen. I am not without doubt whether the word will bear this meaning, but I have not taken on myself to alter the text.

23. *παρέδοσαν*—the aorist seems to take the restoration as virtually carried into effect. We might expect *ὅσας ἀν παραδῶσι*: cf. *ἐγένοντο*, line 29. It is not clear whether the provisions of this clause extend to Amphipolis as well. *παραδιδόναι* 'to hand over' is a more general word than *ἀποδιδόναι*. The latter seems to be used of the places the actual possession of which was of primary importance.

25. *φερούσας*—'on condition of paying'. *τὸν ἐπ᾽ Ἀρισταῖον φόρον*—the *φόρος* was the money payment furnished by the allies instead of ships for carrying on the war against the Persian power; see i. 96—99. Its original amount was 460 talents (i. 96, 3). By 431 it averaged 600 talents (ii. 13, 3), 'not probably by an increase of the rate imposed upon the allies, but from the extension of the tribute to new cities and by the commutation of ships for money'. See Jowett's note, for inscriptions etc. relating to the tribute. There seems reason to believe that the assessment had been doubled in 425, though according to the orators this was done by Alcibiades.

28. ἀποδιδόντων—‘provided they pay’. For the force of the compound cf. ch. 53, 4. ἐπειδή—‘after the conclusion of treaty’; i. 6, 3, οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσαντο.

29. εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀργιλὸς κ.τ.λ.—these are cities friendly to Sparta, and entitled to her protection. The defection of Argilus, Acanthus and Stageirus to Brasidas is related in iv. 88 and 103, 3. Scolus is not mentioned elsewhere by Thucydides. It appears to have been one τῶν περὶ Ὄλυνθον πόλεων, and probably, like Olynthus and Spartolus, revolted from Athens at the beginning of the war; see i. 58, 1.

34. αὐτούς—singularly awkward. It is commonly taken as the subject of ποιεῖσθαι, referring to the Athenians, while Ἀθηναῖοι=ἐαυτοῖς. Krüger proposes to alter αὐτούς into αὐτοῦμοις, or omit it; in this case Ἀθηναῖοι would depend on ἔξεστω, which certainly seems the most natural construction. The best way seems to take βουλομένας ταύτας as a sort of pendent construction and αὐτούς as the object of ποιεῖσθαι, denoting the inhabitants of the cities. The combination in line 51 is somewhat similar. See too iii. 79, 3, ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπέπλεον, καίπερ ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ δυτας. It has also been proposed to put the comma before ἔξεστω, thus connecting βουλομένας ταύτας with the words which precede. Another suggestion is to read αὐτούς Ἀθηναῖοι, ‘the Athenians independently may make them their allies’: the accusative as in line 27.

ib. Μηκυθεραῖος κ.τ.λ.—these appear to be cities which had remained faithful to Athens. Sane had held out against Brasidas (iv. 109, 3); Mecyberna was afterwards taken by the Olynthians (ch. 39, 1). Singi is not elsewhere mentioned by Thucydides. It appears from Hdt. (vii. 122) to have been in Sithonia. These places may have shown signs of disaffection to Athens; or this may be a stipulation on the Athenian side to secure them against hostile neighbours (Jowett).

37. Πάνακτον—ch. 3, 27. Κορυφάσιον—the Spartan name for Pylos (iv. 3, 2). Κύθηρα—iv. 53 sq. Μεθώνην—iv. 45, 2, note (where the orthography of the word is discussed). Πτελεόν has not been mentioned before. There were four or five places so named. Pliny speaks of one in Boeotia, while Strabo places another on the confines of Messenia and Elis. Ἀταλάντη was a small island off the coast of Locri occupied by the Athenians in 431 (ii. 32).

41. ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ—i.e. in prison, said to be a Laconian

expression, Xen. *Hel.* vii. 4, 36. The captives from the island are especially meant. ὅσης—sc. γῆς or χώρας, as in line 47.

45. Βρασίδας ἐσέπεμψεν—see iv. 123, 4.

51. Σκιαναῖων δὲ κ.τ.λ.—these were revolted cities now in the power of Athens. Scione was closely blockaded (iv. 133, 4), while Torone had been retaken by Cleon (ch. 3). Σερμυλίων—mentioned in i. 65, 2 as friendly to Athens; no revolt is recorded. Classen reads Σερμυλιῶν, on the ground that the town was called Σερμυλία and the people Σερμυλῖται.

ib. εἰ τινα ἄλλην—e.g. Mende, which had been recovered in 423 (iv. 129 sq.). The construction is interrupted by the clause with εἰ τινα, and περὶ αὐτῶν, etc. added by a slight anacoluthon.

57. τὸν μέγιστον—so ch. 47, 54: iv. 85, 6, δρκοῖς καταλαβὼν τοὺς μεγίστους. ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως—for ἐξ Classen adopts the emendation ἐπτακαλδεκα, which would be denoted by οὗτοι, this being the number of signatories to the treaty on each side.

61. τὸν δὲ ὄρκον ἀνανεώσθαι—‘this arose partly from the feeling that all laws and public acts required to be solemnly confirmed from time to time, to prevent them from becoming obsolete, and partly lest the succeeding magistrates might think themselves not bound by the acts of their predecessors, unless they themselves incurred the obligation. So the Veientes are said to have attacked Servius Tullius, on the ground that their treaty with his predecessor Tarquinius Priscus did not extend to him’ (Arnold).

64. ἐν πόλει—ch. 23, 27: ch. 47, 74. The acropolis is meant, cf. ii. 15 fin. καλεῖται δὲ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναῖων πόλις. There is no article, as the word acquires the force of a proper name; cf. ch. 10, 63.

ib. ἐν Ἀμυκλαῖς—the temple of Apollo at Amyclae, stated by Polybius to be twenty stadia from Sparta. So in iv. 133, 2, the temple of Hera is said to be ἐν Ἀργεί, though it was forty stadia from the city.

65. καὶ ὅτου πέρι—= ὅτουοῦν, or else connected by καὶ with εἰ τι, ἀμυημονοῦσιν being supplied again.

## CHAPTER XIX

**ἄρχει**—cf. iv. 118, 8, *ἄρχειν δὲ τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν*, ‘this day to begin it’. In giving the date the year is here put first and forms the subject of *ἄρχει*, *ἔφορος Πλειστόλας* being ‘the year of Pleistolas’ office’. Then comes the month, and then the day. Comparing the passage cited from Book iv. we find the same variation of two days at Athens and Sparta, while here Elaphebolion corresponds to Artemisius instead of to Gerastius (see note on iv. 119, 1).

## CHAPTER XX

2. *ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθύς*—‘immediately after’; i. 120, 3, *ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν ξυμβῆναι*. The City or great Dionysia were held about the end of March.

4. *καὶ...παρενεγκουσῶν*—‘with a variation of a few days’. *καὶ* here has probably the corrective force noticed on iv. 35, 3, and is equivalent to ‘in fact’, ‘that is to say’. The time that the war lasted was a few days more than ten years, reckoning from the attack on Plataea (ii. 2 sq.); and somewhat less than ten years, counting from the time when the Spartans first took the field with the intention of invading Attica (Arnold).

For *παρενεγκών*, in the sense of varying, cf. ch. 26, 21. A few instances of the same usage are cited from late Greek writers.

ib. *ἢ*—dependent on the sense implied in *διελθόντων*, as if *ὑστερον* had been written.

6. *κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους*—i.e. the half-yearly periods by which the writer reckons, as explained below, line 12. See also ch. 26, 20.

7. *καὶ μη̄*—‘and not in accordance with the enumeration of the names of those who, in each several state, either were archons or from holding some office served as a mark for past events’, i.e. whose names were used to date by. Thus in Sparta the years were marked by the names of the Ephors, in Argos by the year of office of the priestess of Hera.

The order of this sentence is very awkward, the words *τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὄνομάτων*, which depend on *κατά*, being apparently postponed in order to give the most important words an antithetical prominence. But probably *τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὄνομάτων* ought to be transposed and placed either immediately after *μή*, or at the end of the sentence after *σημανόντων*.

Corresponding to *ἢ ἀρχόντων* we have *ἢ ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινὸς σημαινόντων*. *σημαίνειν* *ἐσ* is 'to furnish a mark as regards'; cf. ii. 8, 3, *ἔδοκε εἶπι τοῖς μέλλουσι γενήσεσθαι σημῆναι = σημεῖον εἶναι*: so *σημαίνει* stands absolutely in ii. 43, 3. Classen however suggests that *ἐσ* should here be omitted. *πιστεύσας μᾶλλον* is added for the sake of emphasis, without affecting the construction.

10. *ἀκριβέσ*—in its strict sense, implying exactness of detail. *οἰς καὶ κ.τ.λ.*—an indirect construction, dependent on *ἀκριβέσ*. 'For whether an event occurred in the beginning, or the middle, or whatever might be the exact point, of a magistrate's term of office is left uncertain by such a mode of reckoning' (Jowett). Classen however takes the clause *οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβέσ* as parenthetical 'this gives no exactness': and makes *οἰς = ὅτι τούτοις*. *καὶ* here has a disjunctive force, as noted on ch. 15, 6.

13. *ἡμισείας*—'as each (of these periods) has the value of the year in half-measure', i.e. is equivalent to half a year. With *ἡμίσεια* 'half', *μοῖρα* is probably understood: cf. Dem. *Fuls. leg.* 431, *ἐφ' ἡμισείᾳ χρηστὸν εἴναι*. In such phrases as ch. 31, 9, the gender is determined by the following noun, and so here it might be referred to *δύναμιν*.

14. *δύναμιν*—'value' or 'amount'; ii. 97, 3. *τετρακοσίων ταλάντων ἀργυρίου μάλιστα δύναμις*: vi. 46, 2, *ἀπ' ὀλίγης δινάμεως χρημάτων*. So i. 141, 1, *τὴν αὐτὴν δύναται δούλωσιν*: vi. 40, 3, *λόγους ὡς ἔργα διναμένοντος*: cf. *ualeo*.

## CHAPTER XXI

1. *ἱλαχόν*—the same construction occurs ch. 35, 9: so Hdt. i. 94, *λαχόντας ἔξιέναι*: Dem. etc.

4. *'Ισχαγόραν*—Ischagoras was one of the envoys sent to Brasidas in 423 (iv. 132). He is named with Menas and Philocharidas among the signatories to the treaty in ch. 19.

9. ἐπιτηδείας—‘favourable to their interests’; cf. iv. 54, 3, ἐπιτηδειότερον τὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἔγένετο. When used of a person the word often means well-disposed.

11. βίᾳ ἐκείνων—i. 43, 3, βίᾳ ημῶν: i. 68, 3, etc.

14. οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσχαγόραν—Ischagoras and his colleagues; so ch. 46, 29: viii. 63, 3, οἱ περὶ τὸν Πεισανδρον πρέσβεις.

16. κατειλημένας—sc. τὰς σπονδάς, line 7, corresponding in sense to ἡ ὁμολογία. There is some awkwardness in this construction, besides which there seems no instance of κατειλημένος being used to mean ‘closed, finally concluded’, which would be the force here required. There is therefore much in favour of reading κατειλημένους, finding the Spartans ‘bound by’ the arrangements. This agrees with i. 9, 1, ὅρκοις κατειλημένους ἀγων, and iv. 85, 6, καταλαβὼν τὰ τέλη.

18. μάλιστα μέν...εἰ δὲ μή—so i. 32, 1: i. 35 fin. etc. The force of καὶ, ‘as well’ as performing the other conditions, is to be noted.

## CHAPTER XXII

2. αὐτοῦ—the reading of most manuscripts; Krüger quotes Xen. *Hel.* vii. 4, 36, ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ αὐτοῦ. There is also some authority for αὐτοῖ, ‘of themselves’, i.e. for purposes of their own, without a summons from Sparta; cf. ch. 30, 15. Classen suggests that αὐτοῦ ἔτι ἔτυχον is the true reading.

5. τῇ αὐτῇ προφάσει—for the dative cf. ch. 14, 9. The disapproval of the allies is mentioned towards the end of ch. 17.

6. οὐκ ἔφασαν δέξασθαι—‘refused to accept the treaty’. On this aorist construction Poppo writes ‘mutatione non opus videtur’, and it is retained by Krüger and Classen.

9. νομίζοντες κ. τ. λ.—this sentence is awkward and probably corrupt. The alterations, chiefly omissions, which have been suggested are far too numerous to discuss here. They are given fully in Mr Fowler’s edition. Taking the words as they stand in the text the key is to be sought in the connexion of the two main dependent clauses, ἥκιστα ἀν σφίσι τούς τε Ἀργείους...καὶ τὴν ἀλλην Πελοπόννησον. By an alliance

with Athens the Spartans hoped to effect two objects, to secure themselves against Argos, and to ensure the tranquillity of Peloponnesus. In construction, the clause with *νομίζοντες* is left incomplete, the sense which should have followed, 'thinking that the Argives would be least likely to prove dangerous' or the like, being resumed with the words *νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ.*

10. *ἐπειδή*—this gives the reason for apprehending the hostility of Argos. *ἐπισπένδεσθαι*—'to renew a truce'; *ἐπι* implying sequence, as in *ἐπιράννυμι, γίγνομαι*, etc.; see note on iv. 36, 2: cf. ch. 14, 25, *ἀλλας οὐκ ἡθελον σπένδεσθαι*.

12. *νομίσαντες*—taking *νομίσαντες* of the Spartans and *αὐτούς* of the Argives, these words are a resumption of the clause with which the sentence began, 'having come to the conclusion, I say', etc.; and the change of time from present to aorist introduces a slight variation of idea. Classen, who omits *νομίζοντες...σφίσι*, takes *αὐτούς* to mean 'by themselves', further explained by *ἀνευ Αθηναίων*. Some editors make this clause part of the accessory sentence with *ἐπειδή*, and thus refer *νομίσαντες* to the Argives and *αὐτούς* to the Spartans. Grammatically this is free from objection, though the sequence of *νομίζοντες, νομίσαντες*, in agreement with different subjects is harsh and awkward. But the sense is fatal to such a construction, for it is absurd to talk of the Argives 'not thinking the Spartans formidable without the Athenians'. They were always more than a match for Argos, and an alliance between them and Athens was a condition seldom present.

14. *πρὸς γὰρ ἄν*—i.e. but for this treaty between Athens and Sparta; cf. iv. 54, 3, *ἀνέστησαν γὰρ ἀν Κυθηρίους*. Classen believes *Αθηναίους* to be a copyist's error, and reads *Αργείους*, comparing the concluding words of ch. 14.

### CHAPTER XXIII

Treaty between Athens and Sparta. 'The new agreement was a defensive alliance made between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, and was confined to one or two points. The clause which is repeated here from the previous treaty, empowering the two contracting parties, of themselves and with-

out the consent of their allies, to add or take away from either treaty, naturally created a panic among the Peloponnesians (ch. 29, 15), whose independence was threatened by it. The allies or tributaries of Athens were not in a position to make a similar complaint, for most of them had suffered already what the Lacedaemonian allies dreaded, nor had those of them who were independent anything to fear from Lacedaemon. The provision respecting the revolt of the slaves applies to Lacedaemon only. This indicates that the Athenians were in no such danger from their slaves, as the Lacedaemonians were from the Helots. The older treaty remained in force, and, in accordance with its provisions, the prisoners of Sphacteria now restored' (Jowett).

1. *κατὰ τάδε*—these words are commonly printed, not as part of the treaty, but as the end of the foregoing chapter. Classen follows Krüger in placing them as they stand in the text; see ch. 47, 11: ch. 77, 1: ch. 79, 1.

*ib.* *Δακεδαιμόνιοι*—Classen, following Portus, adds *καὶ Αθηναῖοι*. Hofmann suggests that we may have the text of the treaty as signed by the Lacedaemonians. *ἢν δὲ τίλες*—*δέ* ought possibly to be omitted, as in ch. 47, 13, and other passages.

4. *ἀφελεῖν*—‘help’: in the treaty given in ch. 47 we have the more ordinary *βοηθεῖν*.

5. *τρόπω...δυνατόν*—the same form occurs twice in ch. 47. Krüger compares Plat. *Rep.* 458 E, *γάμους ποιήσομεν ἱερὸς εἰς δύναμιν ὅπι μάλιστα*.

9. *καταλύειν δὲ ἄμα*—i.e. neither city is to make a separate peace. *καταλύειν* usually takes a case, as *τὸν πόλεμον* in ch. 47, 20; *καταλύεσθαι*, as in iv. 18, 4, being used for ‘making terms’, the middle implying joint or reciprocal action. In viii. 58, fin. we have *ἢν δὲ καταλύειν βούλονται τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις, ἐν ὁμοίῳ καταλύεσθαι*.

*ib.* *ἄμφω τώ*—the regular form of the feminine dual; see note on iv. 4, 2, *τώ χειρεῖ*.

10. *εἶναι*—Krüger quotes Xen. *Hell.* iv. 4, 8, *πάντα εἶναι ἀδόλως*. Classen notes that such phraseology is archaic, as the language of treaties and public documents often is.

18. *ἡ δουλεία*—‘the slave-class’. Lid. and Scott give instances of the collective use of the word from Plato and Aristotle: cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 17, *servitii decem milia offerebant. ἐπανιστῆται*—i. 115, 4, *τῷ δῆμῳ ἐπανέστησαν*.

21. ἑκατέρων—dependent on *οἱ περ*. For ἀνανεοῦσθαι, and the remaining terms of the treaty, see notes on ch. 18, 61 seq. Here παρ' Ἀθηνᾶ is added, meaning near her statue (ii. 13, 4). For the form Ἀθηνᾶ cf. ch. 10, 8.

## CHAPTER XXIV

1. ὄμνυον—the names are identical with those in ch. 19, with one or two variations in their order. τοὺς ἐκ—cf. ch. 15, 3.

14. ταῦτα τὰ δέκα έτη—the preceding ten years, implied in ἐνδεκάτου. In construction these words are accusative of extent with γενόμενος, while they form a predicate to ὁ πρῶτος πόλεμος. Classen seems wrong in taking the participle here as part of the epithet, as in ch. 5, 5; ch. 34, 6. The duration of the war is an accessory idea, which is usually expressed in Greek by an appositional predicate; see note on ch. 16, 24; and iv. 48, 5, ἡ στάσις πολλὴ γενομένη.

## CHAPTER XXV

7. διεκίνουν—‘tried to upset’, only here in Attic prose; Ar. Nub. 477, διακίνει τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῦ, ‘turn inside out, examine thoroughly’.

8. ἄλλη ταραχή—does ἄλλη, in the sense of ‘fresh disturbance’, refer to previous difficulties, such as are mentioned in ch. 22; or does it mean ‘besides’ the intrigues of the Corinthians and their abettors? τῶν ξυμμάχων πρός—‘between the allies and Lacedaemon’; a variation from the more common construction with the dative, e.g. i. 17, 1, πρὸς περιοίκους τοὺς αὐτῶν ἔκαστους: cf. note on iv. 80, 2. Δακεδαίμονα = Δακεδαιμονίους is unusual, to the best of my knowledge: so ch. 28, 14.

11. ἔστιν ἐν οἷς—so ἔστιν γέ, ἔστι παρ' οἷς (masc.) etc., but always εἰσὶν οἱ. ἐκ τῶν ξυγκειμένων—so iii. 70, 3, κατὰ τὰ ξυγκειμένα: iv. 23, 1, καθάπερ ξυνέκειτο. ξύγκειμαι thus used is the perfect passive of ξυντίθεμαι. ἀερηφτο—*the several items of the ξυγκειμένα*.

13. ἐπὶ ἔξιτη μὲν καὶ δέκα μῆνας—μέν is answered primarily by ἔπειτα μέντοι, as πρῶτον μέν is commonly answered by ἔπειτα with or without δέ. The clause with ἔξωθεν δέ is also a kind of secondary apodosis to the clause with μέν.

ib. μή—following the negative idea of ἀπέσχοντο: Goodwin § 807 (c). Classen collects instances from Thucydides in his note on iii. 32, 2, ἐλπίδα οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην εἰχον μή ποτε... παραβαλεῖν.

14. μετ' ἀνακωχῆς—μετά is here used of attendant conditions, as in the common phrase μετά κινδύνων, for which see Kriiger on i. 18, 7. μετ' ἐλπίδων, ch. 103 fin., is somewhat similar. For the form of ἀνακωχή see note on iv. 117, 2, and Poppo on i. 40, 4.

17. ἐς πόλεμον φανερὸν κατέστησαν—so ch. 84, 17: i. 23, fin. ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν, of the first outbreak of war.

## CHAPTER XXVI

1. γέγραψε—compare the opening words of the first Book, Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε κ.τ.λ., where the writer gives the plan and purpose of his history. Similarly in i. 97, 2, he says ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ...διὰ τόδε. Here he is regarding the work as complete, and therefore uses the perfect; so i. 22, fin. κτῆμα ἐσ ἀεὶ...ξύγκειται: cf. ch. 22, ὥσπερ γέγραπται. ξυγγράφω, conscribo, is the special word for the compilation of history, and from his frequent use of the word Thucydides in particular was styled ὁ ξυγγραφεύς. κατὰ θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας—see ch. 20.

6. κατέλαβον—‘occupied’; iv. 1, 1, note. Two manuscripts have κοτέβαλον, which agrees with Plut. *Lys.* 14, καββαλόντες τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη: Xen. *Hel.* ii. 2, 20, τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντες. Both words are historically correct, for the Lacedaemonians sailed into the Peiraeus, and continued to occupy Athens till the conditions of the peace, including the dismantling of the walls, were carried out.

8. καὶ τὴν διὰ μέσου—‘and if any one shall think himself entitled to consider the intervening convention as anything but war, he will make a claim which is not justified by facts’. διὰ μέσου—iv. 20, 1, διὰ μέσου γενόμενον: viii. 75, 1, ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ μέσου κωλυθέντες: so Hdt. and Xen. ἀξιῶ and δικαιῶ, in

the sense of thinking fit and right, differ but slightly in meaning: *οὐκ ἀξιῶ* is constructed with the negative like *οὐ φημι*, as noted on iv. 40, 1.

10. *τοῖς τε*—apparently answered by *Ἐω τε τούτων*: unless indeed the latter is merely a continuation of the subordinate relative construction. I rather suspect that this is so, as all the things mentioned seem explanations of *τοῖς ἔργοις*, and the relative clause is otherwise very curt. In this case the sentence is incomplete, unless we take the initial *τε γάρ* as equivalent to *nam etiam*, as Poppe suggests. (See Jowett on i. 9, 3 for *τε* in the sense of ‘too’.) *τοῖς ἔργοις*—what was actually done, facts, including hostile movements.

*ib.* *διέργηται*—most editors take this to mean ‘interrupted’ lit. ‘divided’, which is no doubt the common use of the word. The perfect tense seems against this view; we should expect the imperfect or pluperfect. I therefore incline to the rendering ‘how it is characterised’, of which Poppe approves, taking *διαρέιν* in the sense of ‘defining’. This sense is found in Herodotus ii. 6: vii. 16, 47, 50, and 103; and is common in Plato.

13. *Ἐω*—‘besides, not counting’; a usage nearly confined to Herodotus and Thucydides (Krüger on i. 9, 3). *Μαντινικόν*—the difficulty with Mantinea, which occupies many chapters in this Book, is first mentioned in ch. 33; the quarrel with Epidaurus in ch. 53.

15. *ἔγένοντο*—here the plural verb is naturally used, as *ἀμαρτήματα* occurred on either side and on more than one occasion. But besides instances which can be thus explained Thucydides not uncommonly uses the plural with a neuter nominative of things, e.g. ch. 75, 9, *Κάρνεια ἐπίγχανον δῆτα*: vi. 62, 4, *ἔγένοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα*. In i. 126, 3, *ἐπῆλθον(εν)* Ολύμπια: ii. 8, 2, *πολλὰ λόγια ἐλέγοντο(ετο)*: i. 58, 1, *τὰ τέλη ὑπέσχοντο(ετο)*, the best manuscripts, according to Krüger, are in favour of the plural. In viii. 10, 1, we have *τὰ Ἰσθμια ἐγίγνετο...ἐπηγγέλθησαν γάρ*: where the subject of *ἐπηγγέλθησαν* is probably *τὰ Ἰσθμια*, though many follow the scholiast in supplying *αἱ σπονδαί*.

16. *πολέμοι*—as hostile to Athens as ever. Thus they opposed the restoration of Amphipolis, and refused to accept the treaty; see ch. 35.

*ib.* *ἐκεχειρίαν δεχήμερον*—explained as a truce which had

to be renewed every ten days, or which could be terminated on ten days notice. The word occurs in ch. 32, 19 and 32; also vi. 7, 4; vi. 10, 3.

20. **κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους**—ch. 20, 6, *σκοπείτω δέ τις κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους*. **καὶ ἡμέρας**—‘that is to say with a variation of but a few days’; see note on ch. 20, 4. The time is calculated from the beginning of April 431, when the Thebans attacked Plataea (ii. 2), to the middle of April 404, when Lysander sailed into the Peiraeus.

21. **καὶ τοῖς ἀπό**—‘and (he will find) that they who on the strength of oracles were positive on any matter found, in this, one solitary instance of the event decidedly corresponding to the prediction’ (Arnold). **ἀπό**=‘starting from’, i.e. grounding their belief on; cf. iv. 18, 2, *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπαρχόντων*: cf. ch. 17, 6. For *ἰσχυρισαμένοις* with neut. acc. cf. iii. 44, 5, *τοῦτο δὲ Κλέων ισχυρίζεται*; vii. 49, 1, *τοσαῦτα λέγων ισχύριζετο*: also with *ὅτι*, vi. 55, 1 etc.: with *ὡς* and a participle iv. 68, fin.

22. **ἐχυρῶς**—*ἐχυρός* ‘secure’ is used somewhat in the sense of *πιστός*: iii. 83, 1, *λόγος ἐχυρός*: vii. 41, 4, *τὴν ἀλπίδα ἐχυράν εἶχον*. The positive adverb is not found elsewhere in Thucydides: in viii. 24, 4, we have *ἐκοσμοῦντο ἐχυρώτερον*. **ξυμβάν**—Hdt. ii. 3, *εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσιν ἐν Μέμφι*: Ar. *Eq.* 220, *χρησμοὶ τε συμβαίνουσι καὶ τὸ Πυθικόν*.

26. **αἰσθανόμενος**—of intelligent perception, as in i. 71, 4, *πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων*. **τῇ ἡλικίᾳ**—‘by reason of’; for dat. cf. ch. 13, 6. Thucydides does not speak of himself except as bearing on his history. At the beginning of his book he tells us that he had compiled materials from the first outbreak of the war (*ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένον*); here he asserts his claims as being capable of seeing and appreciating facts throughout its course. We cannot be certain about his age; but the statement is commonly accepted that he was about forty when the war began. The biography of Marcellinus only says that Thucydides died at over fifty. The question is fully discussed in Classen’s introduction. **τι** is emphatic, as in line 32.

27. **ἀκριβές**—of exact detail, as in ch. 20, 10: 68, 5. For the indicative *εἰσομαι* after a secondary tense see Goodwin, § 339: cf. iii. 4 fin., *ἐπρασσον ὅπως βοήθεια ἥξει*.

28. **φεύγειν**—‘to be in exile from my country’, whether by banishment or voluntarily (ch. 72, 4). **μετὰ τὴν ἁ' Λιμφίπολιν**

**στρατηγίαν**—for *ἐς* cf. ch. 7, *ἐς τὴν Πύλον εύτυχήσας*. The words simply denote the attempt to relieve the place, and do not prove, as Grote supposes, that Thucydides was sent expressly to Amphipolis. See *Appendix* to iv. 104.

30. **παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασι**—‘at what was done on both sides’. **οὐχ ἥσσον = μᾶλλον**. We do not know where Thucydides passed the time of his exile. Marcellinus says that he went first to Aegina, and then to Thrace, where, as we know (iv. 105), he had property and powerful connexions. He probably visited various places, including even Sicily, of which he shows the knowledge of an eyewitness. Most likely he returned to Athens in 403, when the amnesty was proclaimed under Thrasylus. One account says he was assassinated in Athens, another that he died in Thasos.

32. **αισθέσθαι**—the present form *aiσθεσθαι* is retained by Poppe and others here, as suiting the sense better; and Classen has *aiσθεσθαι*, vii. 75, 2, and *προαισθεσθαι*, ii. 93, 4; iii. 83, 4: in each case with good manuscript authority. *aiσθομαι* is a form used by late ecclesiastical writers, and the introduction of its infinitive into classical authors may be merely a copyist's error.

ib. **τὴν**—one article belongs to two nouns, which are closely connected in idea; so ch. 5, 1: i. 120, 2, *τὴν κατακομδὴν καὶ παλιν ἀντιληψιν*. **τὰ ἔπειτα** may be the direct subject of *ως ἐπολεμήθη*, which is in that case personally constructed; Poppe however (iii. 6, 2) considers such constructions, e.g. iv. 23, 2, *τὰ περὶ Πύλον ἐπολεμεῖτο*, as impersonal with determinative accusative: cf. ch. 52, 6.

33. **ξύγχυσιν**—i. 146, *σπουδῶν ξύγχυσις τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν*: cf. ch. 39, 18, *ξυγχέαι τὰς σπουδάς*.

## CHAPTER XXVII

1. **ἔπειδη γάρ**—*γάρ* introduces the account which has been already promised; so ii. 2, 1, in a passage like this: compare its use after such prefaces as *τεκμήριον δέ, δῆλον δέ* etc.

2. **καὶ ὕστερον**—quasi-parenthetical, ‘followed by the alliance’, for the dissentient allies were dismissed from Sparta before the alliance was formally arranged, ch. 22, 8. Classen

follows Cobet in altering αἱ ξυμμαχίαι into the singular, as there was only one alliance, that between Athens and Sparta, and a copyist's error might easily arise from the neighbouring plurals. In the beginning of ch. 48, however, ξυμμαχίαι occurs again. It is true more than two states are there concerned, but the singular had been used in reference to the same states at the end of ch. 46. The plural comes again in ch. 79, 6. Possibly the singular denotes an alliance in a general sense, while the plural refers to its several conditions, as ἔγκλημα in the orators is the plaintiff's 'declaration', the several items of which are ἔγκληματα.

ib. καὶ αἱ—'then also'; co-ordinate note of time; i. 50, 5, ἡδη δὲ ὅψε...καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι: Soph. Phil. 354, ην δ' ἡμαρ δεύτερον κάγω κατηγόμην: Mk. xv. 25, ην ὥρα τρίτη καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν. It has been suggested to remove the καὶ before οἱ μέν in the next sentence, making the construction with ἐπειδή continue to Λακεδαιμονος.

4. ἐς αὐτά—i.e. to discuss these arrangements: αὐτό and αὐτά are perpetually used by Thucydides in this general sense: so i. 1, 2, τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν. ἀνεχώρουν—'inceptive' imperfect, because though they all left Sparta they did not all return home at once.

7. πρῶτον—with ἐς "Αργος τραπόμενοι: cf. ch. 2, 6.

11. ὁρᾶν ὅπως—with indic. future: iii. 46, 4, ὁρᾶν ὅπως ἔξομεν: so vi. 33, 3, ὁρᾶτε ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἀμυνεῖσθε: iv. 128, fin. ἐπρασσεν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ξυμβήσεται: i. 65, 2, ἐπρασσεν ὅπῃ ὠφελίᾳ τις γενήσεται. See Goodwin, § 339.

13. τὴν βουλομένην—see note on iv. 26, 5, τὸν βουλόμενον. δι βουλόμενος is 'he who chooses': cf. Ar. Plut. 906 sq. where the συκοφάντης is asked his profession, and replies, 'I choose':

Δικ. πῶς οὖν διέζης ἣ πόθεν μηδὲν ποιῶν;

Συκ. τῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰμ' ἐπιμελητὴς πραγμάτων  
καὶ τῶν ἱδίων πάντων.

Δικ. σύ; τι παθών;

Συκ. βούλομαι.

\* \* \* \* \*

Συκ. κατηγορεῖ δὲ τίς;

Δικ. ὁ βουλόμενος.

Συκ. οὐκοῦν ἐκεῦνός εἰμ' ἔγώ,  
ώς εἰς έμ' ἤκει τῆς πόλεως τὰ πράγματα.

14. δίκας Ἰσας καὶ ὄμοις δίωσι—see the beginning of ch. 79: i. 28, 1, δίκας ἡθελον δοῦναι=they were ready to submit to judgment or arbitration: i. 140, 3, δίκας τῶν διαφορῶν ἀλλήλους διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι.

16. ὥστε—of conditions; ch. 17, 13 etc. ἐπιμαχεῖν denotes a *defensive* alliance, as explained in ch. 48, 9. ἀποδεῖξαι—‘to name’, or appoint: Hdt. i. 125, στρατηγὸν ἀποδεικνύαι.

17. ἀρχήν—accusative of respect with *aὐτοκράτορας*, ‘of independent authority’. Classen takes it in the adverbial sense ‘to begin with’, i.e. from the first; for which Thucydides elsewhere uses *τὴν ἀρχήν*, ii. 74, 3: iv. 98, 1: vi. 4, 5: vi. 56, 1. *ἀρχήν* is no doubt common in Herodotus, and is found in other writers; but it seems unlikely that Thucydides would depart from his usual form in one instance only when his meaning would be rendered doubtful. It is also to be noticed that in the great majority of cases both *ἀρχήν* and *τὴν ἀρχήν* are used in negative sentences.

18. τοῦ μή—i. 4, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον λέναι αὐτῷ: Goodwin § 798. καταφανεῖς—especially to the Lacedaemonians. We may compare the account in iv. 22, where the Spartans refused to confer with the Athenian assembly, but were willing to meet select commissioners.

19. τοὺς μή πείσαντας—μή gives a hypothetical force, ‘in case of failure’, lit. ‘those who might have failed’. The phrase here seemingly applies to *all* those who were conducting the intrigue. Krüger collects similar usages of the article on iii. 81, 3, *τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέροντες τοὺς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσι*, where the sense is equivalent to *αὐτοῖς*: cf. iv. 33, 2, *καὶ οἱ ὑποστρέφοντες ἡμίνοντο*: iv. 46, 3, *δεδιότες μὴ τοὺς ἐλθόντας οὐκ ἀποκτείνωσι*: see also ch. 5, 9.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

2. οἱ δέ—for the order, and the position of *ἐπειδή*, cf. iii. 5, 1, οἱ δέ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν πρέσβεις ὡς οὐδὲν ἡλθον πράξαντες, following a clause with *καὶ οἱ μέν*. The nominative is put first to mark the change of subject.

3. ἀντίνεγκαν—‘referred’, of laying a matter before an

assembly; Hdt. i. 157, ἐς θεὸν ἀνοῖσαι (an unusual form): id. iii. 71, ἀναφέρειν ἐς πλεῦνας. τὰς ἀρχάς—ch. 47, 59: see note on τὰ τέλη, iv. 14, 1.

6. *ποιεῖσθαι*—‘should make’, dependent, like ἔξεῖναι, on the sense continued from ἔψηφίσαντο: so ch. 63, 17. For this use of the relative and infinitive, which is found especially in quoting the provisions of a law, see Goodwin, § 756. *μηδε-*  
*τέροις* is governed by *σπείσασθαι*. For ἀνευ, ‘without the consent of’, cf. ch. 60, 28: iv. 78, 3, ἀνευ τοῦ πάντων κοινοῦ.

10. *τόν τε—τε* and *kai* connect the two main ideas of the Argives, the prospect of war and the hope of supremacy; cf. ch. 11, 11. *ἐπ’ ἔξοδῳ*—ch. 14, 25. There and in ch. 22 we find that it was the Argives who refused to renew the truce.

12. *Ἐλπίσαντες*—‘conceiving the hope’; note the force of the aorist: so in the next sentence *κακῶς ἤκουσε κ.τ.λ.* ‘came into contempt’, etc. (Krüger suggests ἤκουε.)

13. *ἢ τε...οὐ τε*—two main reasons co-ordinately stated; so i. 8, 3, *ἔφιέ μενοι τῶν κερδῶν οὐ τε ἥσσους...οὐ τε δυνατώτεροι. μάλι-*  
*στα δή*—δή emphasizes the superlative; i. 1, 2, *κίνησις αὕτη*  
*μεγίστη δή*, ‘greatest of all’, not simply ‘very great’. *διὸ τὰς*  
*ξυμφοράς*—especially the surrender of Pylos, which is par-  
ticularly called *ξυμφορά*, iv. 20, 2: iv. 22, 3, etc.: see ch. 75, 12.

16. *τοῖς πᾶσιν*—‘in all points’; vii. 50, 3, *τοῖς πᾶσι χαλε-*  
*πώτερον ἰσχοντα. ξυναράμενοι*—‘having taken part in’; iv. 10,  
1: the genitive is partitive. The accusative construction is also found ii. 71, 2, *ξυνάρασθαι κίνδυνον*, ‘to join in under-  
taking.’ *ἐκκαρπωσάμενοι*—‘having reaped profit thereout’,  
i.e. from their friendly neutrality, or from the war itself, which might bring gain to a neutral state. The scholiast takes it of the enjoyment of their own crops and revenues. Thucy-  
dides does not use the word elsewhere; *καρποῦσθαι* occurs twice.

19. *προσεδέχοντο*—‘were ready to receive’, or ‘were to receive’ according to the arrangements made.

## CHAPTER XXIX

4. μέρος τι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας—see ch. 33. κατέστραπτο ὑπήκοον—i. 8, 3, προσεποιοῦντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσονες πόλεις. ἀρχεῖν—either to rule the district in question, or absolutely to hold an empire, or act like a sovereign state. The infinitive with περιόψεσθε occurs i. 35, 3, and in several other passages there collected by Krüger. It differs from the participial construction (e.g. iv. 11, 3) inasmuch as that implies a present or accomplished fact, which is to be stopped or avenged, while the infinitive suggests a supposed possibility which is to be guarded against.

Grote points out (ch. 55) that the conquest effected by Mantinea during the war was a violation of the principle of the Peloponnesian confederacy; and opposed to the general policy of Sparta, which was in favour of maintaining the independence of the little states, and thus ensuring her own influence as general leader. See note on ch. 31, 15.

7. ἔπειδὴ καὶ—besides other considerations, they had *also* leisure to interfere.

10. ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοί—sc. δημοκρατοῦνται, so ch. 44, 10. This is the more common construction in Greek: in Latin the rule is to follow the antecedent case. Such instances as the following are quite exceptional: Liv. xlii. 37, eodem se loco esse quo Messenii atque Elei: Tac. Ann. xii. 7, cuncta feminæ obediebant, non per lasciviam, ut Messalina, rebus Romanis illudenti: ib. xiii. 19, Plautum, pari ac Nero gradu a divo Augusto, destinavisse.

12. ἐς θροῦν καθίστατο—‘took to talking’; ch. 30, 1: cf. ch. 7, 8. The imperfect denotes the beginning and continuance of the θροῦς, which in the first words of the next chapter is described as prevalent (*καθεστῶτα*, ‘on foot, established’).

13. νομίσαντες...καὶ ἔχοντες—note variation of tense, as in ch. 28, 10. For πλέον εἰδὼς cf. vii. 49 fin. ὑπόνοια μή τι καὶ πλέον εἰδὼς ὁ Νικίας λοχυρίζηται. The participle as usual conveys the most important idea; ch. 1, 5: cf. iv. 27, 2, ἔχοντάς τι λοχυρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον οὐκέτι ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι, ‘they thought they must have some strong point, as’ etc.

15. δι' ὄργῆς ἔχοντες—ii. 60, 3, ἐμὲ δι' αἵρις ἔχετε: also

ἐν δργῇ ἔχειν: ii. 8, 3, δργῇ εἶχον. ἀμφοῦ τοῦ—see note on ch. 23, 9.

18. **τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα**—the wording of this clause. **γράμμα** in the singular is used of a short piece of writing, e.g. of the Delphian inscription **γνῶθι σεαυτόν**. The strong compound **διαθορυβεῖν** is only found here in classical Greek.

21. **δίκαιον γὰρ εἶναι**—the infinitive depends on the sense of saying or thinking supplied from *ἐστι* **ὑποψίαν καθίστη**. The words **πᾶσι τοῖς ξυμάχοις** are as it were in inverted commas and are governed by **δοκῆ**, not **γεγράφθαι**. The sense is, ‘the wording of the (provision for) alteration ought to have been, (*ὅτι ἀν δοκῆ*) **πᾶσι τοῖς ξυμάχοις**, and not **ἀμφοῦ τοῦ πολέουτ**’.

23. **ῷρμηντο**—see note on ch. 1. 11. **πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους** is probably to be taken with **ξυμμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι**, so also ii. 59, 1, **πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ὥρμηντο ξυγχωρεῖν**. The infinitive might however be explanatory, as in i. 50, 1, **πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν**. For the ambiguity of position, which is a Thucydidean mannerism, see note on iv. 40, 2.

### CHAPTER XXX

1. **αἰσθόμενοι τὸν θροῦν**—cf. ch. 29, 12. **διδασκάλους γενομένους**—so viii. 45, 2, **διδάσκαλος πάντων γιγνόμενος**. Similar instances are collected by Classen on iii. 2, 3, **μηνυταὶ γίγνονται τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις**: see also Poppe on i. 132, 5, **μηνυτής γίγνεται**.

6. **προκαταλαβεῖν**—i. 57, 4, **προκαταλαμβάνειν τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἀποστάσεις**: also with accusative of the person and absolutely. **ἡτιώντο**—‘expostulated with them on’, with accusative.

7. **τὴν τε—τε** and **καὶ** couple the two main grounds of complaint, the general stirring up of disaffection and the contemplated alliance with Argos in particular. The second division of the sentence with **καὶ** is modified in construction after the conditional clause *εἰ* **Ἀργείους...**, and has a fresh verb **ἴφασαν** with **παραβήσεοθαλ τε...καὶ ἀδικεῖν** dependent. Krüger and others take **καὶ εἰ** **Ἀργείους** as corresponding to **τὴν ἐστήγησιν** and dependent on **ἡτιώντο** ‘if they should’, i.e. they deprecated the contingency of their secession to Argos. Such a use of *εἰ* is justifiable by examples, e.g. iv. 85, 4, **δυσχερὲς ποιούμενοι εἰ**

*μη ἐδέξασθε.* But to begin afresh with *παραβήσεσθαι τε ἔφασαν*, 'and they said they would be breaking their oaths', seems to weaken the sentence; which appears rather to be one connected paragraph.

ib. *ἔστηγησιν*—iv. 76, 2, Πτοιοδώρου ἔστηγουμένου: so vi. 99, 2 etc.: viii. 48, 6 *ἔστηγητάς τῶν κακῶν τῷ δῆμῳ.* *ἔστηγησις* appears to be found here only in classical Greek. It is quoted from Dio Cas. in the sense of *rogatio*.

9. *καὶ ηὗδη ἀδικεῖν*—'and were already in the wrong'. *εἰρημένον*—so ch. 39, 15 etc. See Goodwin § 851. The Lacedaemonians appeal to the fundamental principles of the Peloponnesian confederacy, as implied below in the 'oaths of the allies' and the 'ancient oaths'.

10. *τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδάς*—'the truce with Athens'. The 'adnominal' genitives in this chapter are worthy of note; line 12, *θεῶν κώλυμα*: line 22, *ξυμμάχων δόρκους*, the oaths taken by, or sworn to the allies: line 24, *θεῶν πίστεις*, pledges ratified by the names of gods. *τὸ πλῆθος*—'the majority'; i. 125, *τὸ πλῆθος ἐψηφίσαντο πολεμεῖν*.

13. *ὅστοι οὐδὲ αὐτοί*—'who, like the Corinthians, had not accepted the truce'. *οὐδέ*= 'also not', its most usual meaning. The dissatisfied allies are named ch. 17, 21.

17. *σφίσιν*—'for them', i.e. to restore to them; ch. 32, 23. Solium (*Κορινθίων πόλισμα*) had been taken by the Athenians in the first year of the war (ii. 30, 1); while Anactorium, a town at the mouth of the Ambracian gulf, was betrayed to them in 425 (iv. 49).

18. *ἐλασσοῦσθαι*—'to be at a disadvantage', have their claims and rights disregarded; ch. 34, 13: i. 77, 3, *εἰ καὶ ὄπωσ-οῦν ἐλασσωθῶσιν*: iv. 58, 2, *ὡς ἐκαστοί τι ἐλασσοῦσθαι ἐνόμιζον*.

19. *πρόσχημα ποιούμενον*—with infinitive construction, as in i. 96, 1, *πρόσχημα δὲ ἦν ἀμύνασθαι.* *μετὰ Ποτίδαιατῶν*—in 432; see i. 58, 1. *ἄλλους ὕστερον*—sc. *κοινῷ*, with the rest of the allies.

23. *ἔστιόντες*—so ch. 35, 15: ch. 40, 10: noted by Krüger as an exclusively Thucydidean usage. *θεῶν πίστεις*—Krüger quotes *δόρκος θεῶν* from Xenophon, *Anab.* ii. 5, 7 etc. *εἰρήσθαι δ' ὅτι*—'the wording was', citing part of the whole clause given in line 10.

33. *λέγει τὸς—έστιναι*, line 23: so iii. 91, 2, *τὸς τὸ ξυμ-*  
*μαχικὸν λέγει*. *τὸν ὕστερον ξύλλογον*—i.e. the next meeting to  
 be held at Corinth.

## CHAPTER XXXI

2. *ἐποιήσαντο*—following the sense of *πρεσβεία*; some  
 manuscripts have the needless correction *ἐποιήσατο*. *καθάπερ*  
*προειρητο*—by conference with the twelve Argive commis-  
 sioners, ch. 28, 5, so infr. line 27.

6. *Δεπρέου*—this is the first mention of Lepreum in  
 Thucydides, and it is not named again after ch. 62. It was in  
 Triphylia, between Messenia and Elis, not far from the sea.  
*ἐπὶ τῇ ήμισείᾳ*—‘on condition of (receiving)’; ch. 5, 12.

9. *καὶ καταλυσάντων*—so Classen for the manuscript  
 reading *καὶ λυσάντων*, *λύειν πόλεμον* not being a phrase in use.  
 Krüger, with two manuscripts, reads *καταλυσάντων* without  
*καὶ*, and gives it a hypothetical force, ‘in case they ended the  
 war’, but Classen’s reading is more consistent with Thucy-  
 didean usage.

10. *Ἐλεῖοι*—the subject of the genitive absolute now be-  
 comes the subject of the main verb; cf. iii. 13, 7, *βοηθησάντων*  
*δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμως, πόλιν προσλήψεσθε*: so iii. 112, 6: iv. 108,  
 1, *τῆς δὲ γεφύρας μὴ κρατούντων...οὐκ ἀν δύνασθαι προσελθεῖν*.  
 A more dubious passage in i. 10, 3, is probably to be taken in  
 the same way, *ὅμως δὲ οὕτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως.....φαίνοιτ'*  
*ἀν ὑποδέεστερα* (sc. *ἡ πόλις*). Goodwin (§ 850) says that the  
 intention of such irregularity is to make the participial clause  
 more prominent, and to express its relation (time, cause etc.)  
 with greater emphasis. This principle applies to *παυσαρένων*,  
 line 13.

ib. *νεμομένοις αὐτοῖς*—‘the sovereignty of half the terri-  
 tory of Lepreum became vested in the Eleans, who, without  
 disturbing the actual occupiers of the soil, imposed upon them  
 a talent as the rent, or vectigal, to be paid to the treasury of  
 Jupiter at Olympia; of which the Eleans had the manage-  
 ment. Compare the conduct of the Athenians to the con-  
 quered Lesbians (iii. 50, 3); where the vectigal was not paid  
 to the Athenian state, but to the individual Athenians to  
 whom the state had given the ownership or sovereignty of the  
 land. *ἀποφέρειν* and *ἀποφορά* are words used peculiarly to

express the payment of rent, whether from a tenant to his landlord, or from a subject to his sovereign, or from a conquered people to their conquerors' (Arnold).

11. **ταξαν**—i. 19, 1, *χρήματα τοῖς πᾶσι τάξαντες φέρειν*. The middle is used of those who agree to the payment on their own part, e.g. i. 101, 4, *χρήματα ταξάμενοι φέρειν*. **ἐπηνάγκαζον**—only here in Thucydides: Hdt. viii. 130, οὐδὲ ἐπηνάγκαζε οὐδεῖς. The compound, like the more common *προσαναγκάζω*, implies compulsion to a course of action.

15. **δίκης ἐπιτραπέσης**—cf. vii. 18, 3, *ἐς δίκας προκαλουμένων τὰν λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ἥθελον ἐπιτρέπειν*. **ἴσοι**—‘their just due’; iv. 59 fin. *ἴσου ἔχοντι*. **ἀνέντες**—‘throwing up’: *παυσάμενοι τοῦ ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν δίκην τοῖς λακεδαιμονίοις* (schol.). ‘It presently appeared that Sparta was more disposed to carry out her general system of favouring the autonomy of the lesser states, than to enforce the positive agreement of the confederacy. Accordingly the Eleians, accusing her of unjust bias, renounced her authority as arbitrator’ (Grote).

22. **δέξασθαι**—of receiving disaffected allies, i. 40, 4, *τοὺς ἑτέρων ἀφισταμένους δέχεσθαι* (other instances in the same chapter): so iv. 75, 1, *τοὺς ἔξιόντας ἐδέχοντο*, which is sometimes wrongly taken of ‘withstanding assailants’.

23. **τὴν ξυνθήκην**—this covenant is not mentioned elsewhere; but it would seem to be a bond entered into at the beginning of the war by the several states of the Peloponnesian confederacy. Grote (ch. 55) has an interesting note. He takes the view that subordinate states had been exempt while the war lasted from tribute to the imperial cities, in virtue of their military service for the general cause. ‘But the confederacy at the same time gave its guarantee that the imperial state should re-enter upon these suspended rights, so soon as the war should be at an end’. This view may be right, but it can scarcely be drawn from the present passage, which seems rather to mean that Lepreum made the war an excuse for evading a legitimate payment, and the Eleans claimed their rights as soon as their hands were free. But at the same time *πρόφασις* can undoubtedly be used of a real ground or occasion, e.g. vi. 6, 1, *τῇ ἀληθεστάτῃ προφάσει*.

25. **τινες**—i.e. all persons concerned; i. 40, 5, *τοὺς ξυμάχους αὐτὸν τινα κολάζειν*.

30. **τὸ αὐτὸν λέγοντες**—‘holding the same language’, i.e. acting in concert; iv. 20, fin. *ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν ταῦτα λεγόντων*:

'their aristocratical forms of government, and their common hatred of Athens, as well as their neighbourhood to each other, tending to draw them together' (Arnold): cf. ch. 38, 7, *τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐποίουν*, of the same states. Classen and others take the words to mean '(though) holding the same views' as the Corinthians and other actual seceders, but this rendering seems not to agree with the sense of the passage and would require *ὅμως* or the like.

31. *περιορώμενοι*—probably 'looking about them', i.e. waiting the event and not committing themselves to either side. In all other passages where *περιορᾶσθαι* occurs in Thucydides it is in the middle voice. It is used (1) standing alone, vi. 93, 1, *μέλλοντες ἔτι καὶ περιορώμενοι*: vi. 103, 2, *πρότερον περιεωρῶντο*: vii. 33, 2, *πρότερον περιορώμενοι*: (2) with a dependent clause, iv. 73, 1, *περιορωμένους ὅποτέρων ἡ νίκη ἔσται*: (3) with a case, ii. 43, 4, *μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους*, where the meaning is open to question, but is probably 'regard anxiously', 'weigh too nicely' (Jowett): iv. 124, 4, *Μένδης περιορώμενος*, 'anxious about'. These are all the instances of the word, to which may be added a rare use of the active aorist, iv. 71, 1, *τὸ μέλλον περιυδεῖν*, the aorist middle not being in use.

In the present passage a difficulty is caused by the following words, *ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων*, which are found in all mss. If they be genuine, and *περιορώμενοι* is to retain its usual meaning, they must be taken with *ἡσύχαζον περιορώμενοι* in the sense 'by reason of Lacedaemonian influence'. Such a construction though harsh is not impossible.

Otherwise, *περιορώμενοι* must be regarded as a passive. If this view be admissible, 'jealously watched' (Jowett), 'treated with honour and consideration', gives the best sense, and corresponds to the use of the middle in iv. 124, 4. Grote's rendering 'being left to themselves', i.e. not appealed to, as the Corinthians were (ch. 30), does not correspond to the use of the word in the active, which in the sense of *overlooking* requires a participle or the like expressed or implied. And the once accepted rendering 'despised', or 'feeling themselves slighted', is equally inconsistent with classical usage, besides which it is doubtful as a statement of fact and necessitates giving a harsh, though possible, adversative meaning to *καὶ* = 'and yet thinking'.

Classen follows Dobree in omitting the words *ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων*, as an explanatory gloss of the supposed passive construction; while Haase's conjecture is very tempting, *τὸ διπὸ τῶν*, 'waiting to see what course the Lacedaemonians took'.

33. *αὐτοῖς*—referring to both states. An oligarchical

revolution had been effected at Megara in 424 (iv. 74). πολιτεία—form of government; i. 18, 1: ii. 37, 1: in both cases with χρήσθαι.

## CHAPTER XXXII

2. Σκιωναίους—ch. 2, 6. διπέτεαν—see iv. 123 fin. οὐδέπομπα ἐποιήσαντο Σκιωναίους ἔξελεῖν τε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι. Clas-  
sen points out that Brasidas is said to have removed the women and children from Scione and Mende to Olynthus (iv. 123, 4). The removal must have been incomplete. Similarly it is said of the Spartans at Plataea, in 427, γυναῖκας ἡγραπό-  
δισαν (iii. 68, 3), though the women and children were removed by the Athenians in 431 (ii. 6 fin.). In the case of Plataea the women were probably the 110 γυναῖκες σιτοποιοί (ii. 78, 3) who remained in the city. The absence of the article proves nothing, as it is regularly omitted in these phrases.

5. Πλαταιεύσιν—some Plataeans (*οἱ ἀχρειβάτοι*) had been removed to Athens in 431 (ii. 6), while 212 cut their way out in 428 (iii. 28, 2).

ib. Δηλίους δέ—see ch. 1. This statement agrees with Arnold's note, there cited, as to the anxiety of the Athenians to propitiate Apollo. ἐνθυμούμενοι—i. 42, 1, ὡν ἐνθυμηθέντες: i. 120, 6: see note on ἐνθυμίαν ch. 16, 22. In meaning the force of the word extends to the end of the sentence. Two considerations determined the Athenians, which are connected by *τε* and *καὶ* with the usual variation of construction. τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος is genitive absolute.

8. καὶ Φωκῆς—nothing more is said of this war. μέρα μέρος—lit. 'a considerable fraction' (of the Peloponnesian powers): so ii. 20, 3, οἱ Ἀχαρνῆς μέρα μέρος ὅντες τῆς πόλεως. Tegea was of importance, being an independent state on the borders of Laconia. For the attraction of the participle *ὅν* cf. Plat. *Protag.* 354 c, τὴν ἡδονὴν διώκετε ὡς ἀγαθὸν *τιν*, where Wayte cites numerous instances.

15. ἀνέσταν τῆς—'slackened in', partitive genitive; vii. 43, 7, ἀνέντων τῆς ἐφόδου: Dem. etc.: so i. 112, 1, πολέμου ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι: viii. 31, 1, τούτου ἐπέσχεν. Compare the twofold use of *μεθίημι*.

17. ἐς τοὺς Βοιωτούς—'into Boeotia'; ch. 33, 4: iv. 108, 5, ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς πεπληγμένων.

19. ἐπισπονδάς—only found here. It appears to mean a subsequent or renewed truce; cf. ch. 22, 11, ἐπισπένδεσθαι. The same truce is called δεχήμεροι σπονδαῖ in line 29, and ἐκεχειρία here and ch. 26, 16.

23. καὶ σφίσι ποιῆσαι—‘to effect, or obtain it for them too’, not = ποιεῖσθαι. ἀπειπεῖν—ch. 43, 13. ἀνευ αὐτῶν—αὐτῶν refers to the primary subject *oi Kορινθίοι*: cf. ch. 40, 14, *aὐτοῦ*: and see note on iv. 50, 2; and Poppo on i. 17.

28. ἐπισχεῖν—viii. 5, 2, Εὐβοίας μὲν πέρι ἐπισχεῖν: also absolutely, and as transitive, ch. 63, 15: iv. 5, 1, ὁ στρατὸς ἔτι ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὥν ἐπέσχεν. εὑρούντο—of obtaining what one desires; i. 31, 2, ὡφελίαν τινὰ εύρισκεσθαι.

31. εἶναι σπονδάς—see ch. 18, where the peace is made between Athens and Sparta and their respective allies. We see from ch. 36, 6, that the Corinthians and Boeotians still stood in the position of Lacedaemonian allies. ἀξιούντων... σφίσιν—‘though the Corinthians called on them to do so, and said in expostulation that they had so covenanted with them’.

34. ἀνακωχὴ ἀσπονδος—‘cf. i. 40, 4, Κορινθίοις μέν γε ἐνσπονδοὶ ἔστε, Κερκυραῖοις δὲ οὐδὲ δι' ἀνακωχῆς πώποτ' ἐγένεσθε. By ἀσπονδος is meant a mere agreement in words, not ratified by the solemnities of religion. And the Greeks considered the breach of their word very different from the breach of their oath. See ii. 5, 7, where the Plataeans maintain that they never *swore* to the Thebans not to injure them’ (Arnold). Grote however considers that the words only mean a simple absence of hostilities *de facto*, not arising out of any recognized pledge; so i. 66; cf. ch. 25, 14: ch. 26, 18. ἀνακωχῇ is the form which is invariably found in the manuscripts; ανοκωχή however, which Classen reads, is in accordance with analogy and derivation. See note on iv. 117, 2.

### CHAPTER XXXIII

4. τῆς Ἀρκαδίας—in this construction, as Krüger points out, the genitive, which commonly stands first, has the article, while the word on which it depends is usually without; iii. 19, 2, τῆς Καπλας ἐκ Μνούντος ἀναβάς. For ἐς Παρρασίους, cf. ch. 32, 17, ἐς Βοιωτούς. The Parrhasians, an original Arcadian race, occupied a district south-east of mount Lycaeus.

5. ἐπικαλεσαμένων—sc. τῶν Παρρασίων: see note on iv. 73, 3, ὡσπερ ἡσσηθέντων. Similarly in ch. 31, 13, we have παυσαμένων, where the accusative might have been expected.

6. τὸ ἐν Κυψελοῖς τεῖχος—viii. 20, 2, τὸ ἐν τῇ Τέῳ τεῖχος. Cypselus appears to have been a town in the level country, on the Alpheus. ἀναιρήσοντες—so ch. 77, 7. καθαιρεῖν, to dismantle or pull down, is much more common in this connexion.

9. ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιρίτιδι—ἐπί, ‘to command or annoy’; so ch. 51, 5: cf. ch. 7, 20. Sciritis was a mountain district in the north of Laconia.

11. τὴν πόλιν—their own city. τὴν ξυμμαχίαν—‘the territory of their allies’; iv. 118, 3, ἐπιμισγομένους ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν. Parrhasia seems meant, or possibly the district which the Mantineans had conquered, see ch. 29.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

1. τῶν ἀπό—attractional, and referring to ἡκόντων, as ἔξελθόντων denotes the expedition to Thrace. Poppe compares ch. 65, 17, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου, also ii. 80, 1, τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, and a similar construction with ἐκ in ii. 83, 1. Krüger’s suggested transposition, ἀπὸ Θράκης τῶν, is therefore not necessary. For the military use of ἔξελθεῖν cf. ch. 8, 8: ch. 54, 12.

3. οὓς ὁ Κλεαρχός—in accordance with his instructions, as given at the end of ch. 21. The Lacedaemonians seem now to have evacuated Amphipolis, which remained in the hands of the Chalcidians. We read of an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the Athenians to recover it in 414 (vii. 9).

5. τοὺς μέν—answered by τοὺς δ’ in line 10, but in consequence of the intervening paragraphs the construction with ἐψηφίσαντο is dropped, and a fresh verb brought in. For the position of the participle μαχεσαμένους see note on iv. 5, 2: and compare such passages as i. 11, 2, τοῦ διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου κατεσχηκότος.

7. οἰκεῖν ὅπου ἀν βούλωνται—‘the Helots, like the villains of the middle ages, were glebae adstricti, and not allowed to leave the spot which was allotted to them. Thus the per-

mitting them "to live where they liked" was an essential part of their emancipation' (Arnold).

ib. ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ—so i. 18, 2: i. 137, 1 etc. τῶν νεοδαμῶν—according to Müller these were probably free Helots of some standing, or the sons of enfranchised serfs; see Arnold. This is the first time that they are mentioned as employed in military service; see also ch. 67, 5. In vii. 58, 3, we find that the Lacedaemonian force which Gylippus took to Syracuse consisted of Neodamodes and Helots; where Thucydides adds the explanation δύναται δὲ τὸ νεοδαμῶδες ἐλεύθερον ἥδη εἶναι.

8. ἐς Δέπρεον—see ch. 31, 20. ἐπὶ τῆς—'in the direction of', as in τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης.

10. τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς νήσου—οἱ ἐκ τῆς νήσου is the regular expression for these captives. Here, with the addition of ληφθέντας, it is a pregnant phrase, as noted on line 1.

12. δείσαντες κ.τ.λ.—'fearing lest they might suppose that their misfortune would stand in their way, and if they possessed their full rights they might attempt some revolutionary design'. τι is probably to be taken with νεωτερίσωσιν. Both νομίσαντες and ὄντες ἐπίτιμοι seem to have a hypothetical force, otherwise there is some awkwardness in the connecting καί. For τὴν ξυμφοράν, meaning the surrender at Pylos, see note on ch. 28, 15: cf. iv. 17, 1, ἐς τὴν ξυμφοράν : iv. 20, 2, ξυμφορᾶς μετρίως κατατιθεμένης. ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι—ch. 30, 18.

14. τινάς—'in some cases'; in partial apposition to τοὺς ληφθέντας: cf. ch. 96, 3, ἀποστάντες τινές. ἀτιμίαν is a cognate accusative carrying on the idea of the words before; see note on δουλείαν ch. 9, 42.

15. μήτε ἄρχειν κ.τ.λ.—'that is, they deprived them of their eligibility to offices, and reduced them in civil contracts to the condition of sojourners or foreigners, who could neither hold property, nor sue or be sued in their own name' (Arnold).

16. ὕστερον χρόνῳ—so i. 8 fin. etc.: with χρόνοις Dem. etc. 'ages after'.

## CHAPTER XXXV

1. *ἐν τῇ Ἀθῷ*—elsewhere *Ἀθῷς* is masculine as in ch. 3, 30: iv. 109, 2. A few manuscripts here have *τῷ*. It has been suggested that *ἡ Ἀθῷς* denotes the region as opposed to the mountain. The reading of the whole passage is however uncertain, as a difficulty is caused by the word *Δικτιδῆς*. The Dictidians are unknown, and there may be a corruption in the name. In ch. 82, 1, the true reading *Διῆς* is in some copies corrupted into *Δικτιδῆς*. Dium is mentioned in iv. 109, 3 as a town in the peninsula of Athos. Accordingly here editors have adopted *τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀθῷ Διῆς*, *τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀθῷ Ἀκτῇ Διῆς*, or *τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀθῷ Ἀκτῇ Διῆς*. Poppo points out that Thucydides simply calls the peninsula *Ἀκτῇ* (iv. 109, 3); while moreover Dium was friendly to the Athenians till 417, when it revolted to the Chalcidians (ch. 82). He therefore proposes instead of *Δικτιδῆς* to read *Χαλκιδῆς* or *οἱ Χαλκιδῆς*. The Chalcidians would no doubt be hostile to Thyssus; there may however have been a private quarrel between Thyssus and Dium.

4. *ἐπιμιξίαι*—of reciprocal intercourse: cf. i. 2, 2, *οὐδὲ ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἄλλήλους*: see note on *ἔφοδοι* line 40. *ὑπάπτενον*—so viii. 39, 2, *ὑπάπτενον αὐτόν*. Krüger notes (iv. 51) that the construction with a simple accusative is rare in Attic writers.

7. *τὴν...οὐκ ἀπόδοσιν*—cf. ch. 50, 19: so i. 137, 7, *τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν οὐ διάλυσιν*: iii. 95, 2, *τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν*. It is a peculiarity of Thucydides, though occasionally found in other writers. Here *ἄλλήλους* is added to the verbal substantive.

8. *τὴν γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν*—the restoration of Amphipolis was the main point, accordingly its name stands prominently in the sentence. The *ἄλλα χωρία* are those specified in ch. 18, 22 sq. and also Panactum. *πρότεροι λαχόντες*—ch. 21, 1.

11. *παρέχον*—note the change of tense. *παρέχω* takes the same construction with an adjective in ii. 84, 3, *τοῖς κυβερνήταις ἀπειθεστέρας τὰς ναῦς παρέχον*, and in other passages. *λέγοντες δέ*—‘though they continued to declare’.

14. *χρόνους δὲ προῦθεντο*—apparently ‘proposed certain dates’, *χρόνοι* being plural because stipulations affecting dif-

ferent states were proposed. The scholiast explains *προσθεντο* by *ἔταξαν*: but the middle means ‘to put forward on one’s own part’: cf. Eur. *Iph.* T. 1225, *τὰ ἀλλα δσα προσθέμην*, i. e. ‘ordered’.

15. **ξυγγραφῆς**—‘a bond’ or written agreement. They would only commit themselves to a verbal arrangement. **χρῆν**—i.e. according to the Spartan proposal. The imperfect is accommodated to the past tense of *προσθεντο*, cf. ii. 51, 3, *οὐδὲ ἐν κατέστη λαμα δ τι χρῆν προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν*: and see note on iv. 29, fin. *ἢ χρῆν ἐπιβοηθεῖν*.

17. **ὑπετόπευον**—the same form occurs in viii. 76, 1: *ὑποτοπεῦν* iii. 5, 3, etc. *ὑποπτεύω* is the general word in Attic prose, as in ch. 35, 6. **οὕτε Πύλον**—answered by *τά τε ἀλλα*, the clause with *ἀλλα καὶ* being parenthetical.

22. **ποιήσειαν**—‘should have done’, corresponding to *ἔως ἀν ποιήσωσι* with a primary tense. **ὄντας**—order as in ch. 34, 6.

26. **καὶ εἰ τον ἀλλου**—‘and (had done) everything else in their power’, rather than ‘had recalled their men from any other place in their hands’. For *εἰ τις* cf. ch. 37, 13: so iv. 26, 5, *ἐσάγειν στον...καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο βρῶμα*.

29. **ἀπολαβεῖν**—‘get back’, in order to restore to Athens: cf. ch. 30, 17. **κομιεῖν** in the line below probably depends on *ἔφασαν*: Krüger however connects it with *πειράσεσθαι*, referring to i. 27, 2, *ἔδεήθησαν ξυμπροπέμψειν*, where he cites many similar instances of the future infinitive.

31. **Μεσσηνίους**—from Naupactus; see iv. 41. Note the use of the articles here and in line 37.

36. **ώστε**—see note on ch. 16, 26. **τοὺς ἀλλους**—*ἄλλοις*=‘besides’. It seems possible that some of the *περίοικοι* as well as of the Helots might have deserted to Pylos. No such desertion is however mentioned, but only that of the Helots; see ch. 14, 20; and iv. 41, 3. The following words *τε καὶ* are therefore bracketed by some editors, while Classen brackets *τε* only. Stahl would omit *Εἴλωτας* as well as *τε καὶ*.

39. **ἐν Κρανίοις**—one of the four cities of Cephallenia, ii. 31 fin. **ἔφοδοι**—of mutual intercourse; i. 6, 1, *διὰ τὰς οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς παρ' ἀλλήλους ἔφόδους*: cf. *ἔπιμεξία, ἔπιμιγνυμι*: and see Barton and Chavasse on *ἔπιχροντο*, iv. 120, 1.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

4. **σπονδαῖς**—speaking generally. Some manuscripts have *τᾶῖς σπονδαῖς*, which is read by Classen. **ξυμμαχίδος**—ch. 110 fin.: i. 110, 4, ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς ἀλλής ξυμμαχίδος. Also as fem. adj. i. 98, 2, etc. **Ἀθηναίων κ.τ.λ.**—the Athenians were newly allied with Sparta. The Corinthians, though the prime movers of the intrigues against Sparta, were not in open hostility.

8. **οὐδέν**—Krüger compares ii. 5, 4, ἷρ τι ξυμβαινωσι: so iv. 41, 1, μέχρι οὗ τι ξυμβώσι. We have similar neuter accusatives with *πεθῶ* and such words. **οὐτοις οἴπερ**—so Hdt. viii. 124: vii. 170, *οἵτος οἴπερ*. **ταύτα**—sc. *ἀλλήλους*, ‘to act in close concert with each other, instead of disputing as they had done: see ch. 32 fin.’ (Arnold). This is better than rendering ‘to maintain the same policy as heretofore’, i.e. to hold aloof still from alliance with Athens.

11. **λόγους ποιοῦνται λόγους**—‘confer privately’ or ‘separately’; cf. ch. 37, 8, ἐς λόγους ἥλθον.

13. **Βοιωτούς**—subject of **παρίσθαι**. After the appositional clause with **αὐτούς**, μετ̄ **Βοιωτῶν** is written instead of **μεθ' ἑαυτῶν** to avoid any possible misunderstanding. The sentence is thus made laboured and clumsy, as in ch. 32 § 4. Jowett compares the repetition of **Ἀθηναῖος** in ch. 18, 34. Ullrich suggests **μετὰ Κορυνθίων** for **μετὰ Βοιωτῶν**.

16. **ἡκιστ' ἀν**—this reading, instead of **ἡκιστα**, is adopted by all modern editors. They also assume that the force of **ἄν** extends to the following **ἐλέσθαι**. Kühner gives examples of similar construction from Xenophon in his note on *Anab.* i. 6, 2. In the present passage it seems simpler to take **ἐλέσθαι** as a positive statement, ‘the Lacedaemonians chose’.

18. **πρὸ τῆς**—there is a confusion of thought, or rather of expression, in this sentence. The meaning is that the Spartans attached more importance to gaining the friendship of Argos than to incurring the enmity of Athens. The two contingencies are put as it were in opposite scales. So **πρό**, ‘in preference to’, is really equivalent to ‘at the price of’. Again we may say that, as in Greek a negative is repeated in a negative clause, so here **Ἀθηναίων ἔχθρας** is written, instead of **φιλίας**, with a proleptic force.

Two somewhat similar instances of **ἄντι**, implying exchange, are quoted from Aristotle: *Rhet.* ii. 23, 19, **ὅτε μὲν γὰρ τὸ**

μένειν ἀντὶ τοῦ μάχεσθαι ἥροῦντο, ὅτε δὲ τὸ μὴ μάχεσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ μένειν, 'at one time they preferred staying at the price of fighting, at another not fighting at the expense of not staying' (Cope): *Eth. Nic.* iii. 1, 7, *ὅταν αἰσχρόν τι η̄ λυπηρὸν ὑπομένωσι ἀντὶ μεγάλων καὶ καλῶν*, where *ἀντὶ* means 'when weighed against the prospect of'. See also Liddell and Scott *ἀντὶ*, ii. 2.

Classen takes *πρό* to mean 'before they became openly hostile to Athens', comparing iii. 59, 3, *εἰλόμεθα γὰρ ἀν πρό γε τούτου*: but there too preference of choice seems implied rather than priority of time.

21. **καλῶς**—'on fair and honourable terms', or, according to Stahl, = *opportune*, 'under favourable conditions', as in ch. 65, 28: i. 124, 1; cf. *πάντως*, ch. 41, 22. *καλλῶς* and *καὶ δλλῶς*, 'at all events', are suggested emendations. **ἡγούμενοι**—Classen adopts the alteration into *ἡγουμένους*: otherwise either (1) the Ephors are identified with the government generally; see ch. 37, 9, *σφίσι*: or (2) the actual construction is disregarded, and *ἡγούμενοι* written as if *ἐπεθύμουν* of *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* had gone before. The latter view seems too harsh to be possible; and cannot be supported on the analogy of such passages as iv. 52, 3, *ἥν αὐτῶν η̄ διάνοια...κρατητάμενοι*: for there the subject of the sentence is the same *in sense* though not in actual construction. **ράω...ράον**—cf. ch. 37, 11, *ράδιως*.

23. **ἔδεοντο Βοιωτούς**—if the text be sound, we must adopt the accepted explanation, 'they asked (the envoys) *as regards* the Boeotians', = *ἔδεοντο δπως Βοιωτοί*, for *δέομαι* governs the genitive of the person to whom request is made. See iii. 51, 2, for an accusative supplying the subject to a clause with *δπως*. Krüger suggests *ἥτοῦντο*, for which Classen would prefer *ἐπήγοντο* (ch. 41, 12). But even thus the following future with *δπως* is an awkward and scarcely admissible construction, and it seems as if an infinitive had dropped out dependent on *ἔδεοντο* and governing *Βοιωτούς*. Classen suspects the genuineness of the whole sentence, which he thinks may be a clumsy adaptation of ch. 39, 9.

## CHAPTER XXXVII

2. **ταύτα ἐπεσταλμένοι**—the dative 'remotioris obiecti' which would follow the active verb becomes the subject of the passive participle, while the accusative of the direct object is joined with it; so i. 126, 6, *οἱ ἐπιτετραμένοι τὴν φυλακήν*.

Here the accusative is further connected with the following *ώστε ἀπαγγεῖλαι*. *ἀπό*—‘on the part of’.

5. *ἐπὶ τὰ κοινά*—‘to their respective communities’ or ‘governments’, each of which was a *κοινόν* (i. 89, 3 etc.). This is the plural of a collective singular; so *ναυτικά*, ‘fleets’: cf. iii. 82 fin. *τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν*, the moderate or intermediate party (*τὸ μέσον*) in the several states: Ar. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 8, 9, *τὰ πολιτικά μένοντα ἀποθνήσκει*, ‘armies (not, an army) of citizens stand their ground to the death’.

6. *τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς μεγίστης*—possibly the *ἀρτῦναι* mentioned in ch. 47, 61. *σφίσι*=‘with us’ i. e. the Argive nation. After *τούτου προχωρήσαντος* the subject expands still further, *πολεμεῖν κ.τ.λ.* referring to the entire body of proposed allies. *αν* is to be taken with these last infinitives.

9. *ώσπερ Κορίνθιοι κ.τ.λ.*—see ch. 31, 28. The Mantineans had been the first to join the league, ch. 29, 1. *ἡδη*=*iam*, when this point was reached, or this advantage secured.

13. *κοινῷ λόγῳ χρωμένους*—acting and treating in common; so iv. 64, 3, of mutual conference. *εἴ τινα*=‘any whatever’; i. 14, 3, *Αθηναῖοι καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι*: cf. ch. 35, 26. *τούτων ὥνπερ*—i.e. *ἄπερ*, with *ἐπεστάλκεσαν αὐτοῖς*. The *φίλοι* are Xenares and his adherents.

20. *βοιωτάρχαις*—see iv. 91, 1. *τρέσκοντο*—ch. 4, 13. *εἰς τὰ ὄμοια σπεύδειν*—Clasen quotes Xen. *Cyr.* i. 3, 4, *εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ ἡμὲν σπεύδετε*: elsewhere Thucydides uses *σπεύδειν* without a preposition, as in ch. 16, 9. *τὰ εἰρημένα προκαλούμενοι*—‘with the stipulated proposals’; ii. 74, 2, *προκαλεσάμενοι τολλά*.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

1. *ἔδόκει*—not *ἔδοξε*, for they did not carry their resolution. *τοῖς ἀπὸ Θράκης*—the Chalcidians, ch. 31, 29. *ἐν τῷ παρατυχόντι*—iii. 82, 7: i. 122, 1, *πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον*. *τῷ δεομένῳ*—used generically, like the well-known phrase *ὁ βουλόμενος* (ch. 28, 6). We find other instances of the generic singular, e.g. iv. 92, 5, *τὸν μὲν ἡσυχάζοντα...ἐπιστρατεύειν*.

6. *γνώμης*—‘resolution’ or ‘decision’. *οὕτως*=after this;

iii. 96, 2, τὰλλα καταστρεψάμενος οὗτως...στρατεῦσαι : for ἵδη  
see ch. 37, 11. τὸ αὐτὸν ἐποιοῦν—ch. 31, 30, τὸ αὐτὸν λέγοντες.

9. ταῖς τέσσαρσι βουλαῖς—not mentioned elsewhere; nothing seems known about them. ἐπ' ὀφελίᾳ—mutui auxilii gratia (Poppo); see i. 3, 2, ἐπαγομένων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὀφελεῖᾳ. The manuscripts always vary between ὀφελίᾳ and ὀφέλειᾳ. The latter, according to Liddell and Scott, is the usual prose form; but Bekker reads ὀφελίᾳ throughout Thucydides.

15. ἐκείνων—note the use of this pronoun to denote the Lacedaemonians, though they have just been mentioned. See note on iv. 37, 2: also Shilleto on i. 132, 3.

20. μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων—Classen follows Stahl in reading μετ' αὐτῶν for μετὰ τῶν, understanding ξυμμάχους with γίγνεσθαι. This agrees exactly with ch. 36, 14. Otherwise either (1) μετὰ τῶν...γίγνεσθαι means ‘to join Sparta’, as in iv. 125, 1, οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ μετ' Ἀρριβαλοῦ γεγένηνται (Krüger): or (2), supplying ξυμμάχους, the sense is ‘afterwards to become their allies in company with the Lacedaemonians, i. e. afterwards to form an alliance with the Lacedaemonians as well, in which the Argives and Corinthians would be included’ (Jowett).

22. σφίσι—*the natural construction is to take this as dependent on παραινοῦσιν.* The sense then necessitates referring it to the members of the four councils, the subject of Ψηφιεῖσθαι, while προδιαγνόντες refers to the Boeotarchs, the main subject of the sentence. There is considerable awkwardness in this; and the difficulty is not removed by comparing such passages as e.g. i. 20, 1, οἱ γὰρ δύνθρωποι τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων, καὶ ἦν ἐπιχώρια σφίσιν ὥ...δέχονται: iv. 113, 3, κατέφυγον ἐς αὐτοὺς δοι ήσαν σφίσι ἐπιτήδειοι. For in such passages, though σφίσιν does not refer to the grammatical subject of the relative clause, it does refer to the general subject of the sentence, which is not the case here. It is just possible to take σφίσι with προδιαγνόντες, ‘for themselves’ or ‘for their own nation’=‘for us’. Götler’s conjecture ἐν σφίσι is however very tempting, and better than Bekker’s σφεῖς.

23. ἀντέστη τὸ πρᾶγμα—so ch. 4, 26. εἰ ταῦτα ἔπεισαν—the aorist indicative, as Classen points out, implies ‘an unfulfilled condition’. They had been intending to promote the alliance with Argos, (and they would have made the attempt) if they had not failed to persuade the councils.

27. οὐκέτι—i.e. they gave up the idea. ἐσήνεγκαν—so viii. 67, 1, with γνώμην: Hdt. iii. 81 etc. ἐπεμπον—lit. ‘went on to send’, that is they gave up their intention. διατριβή—cf. ch. 82, 20.

## CHAPTER XXXIX

1. Μηκύβερναν—see ch. 18, 34, where the Athenians stipulate for its independence. It was 20 stadia from Olynthus, on the gulf of Torone. Strabo calls it the arsenal (*ἐπίνειον*) of Olynthus. Αθηναίων φρουρούντων—i. 89, 2, Σηστὸν ἐποιόρκουν Μήδων ἔχοντων, where Krüger collects instances of this frequent use of the genitive absolute.

8. κομίσασθαι—‘recover’; ch. 15, 4 etc. ιψλθον...πρεσβευόμενοι—so i. 31, 3. It is a regular phrase = πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν. εἰρημένον—‘this provision is not found either in the treaty or the alliance, but it may be understood, as Bishop Thirlwall remarks, in the last clause of the latter (ch. 23), or in the provision that neither party should conclude a war without the consent of the other (ib. l. 9 and 16). Or it may have formed part of a separate agreement, which Thucydides has not given’ (Jowett). For the accusative absolute see note on iv. 17, 2; and Goodwin § 851.

17. παραλαβεῖν—i.e. in order to transfer to Athens, the regular use of this word; the converse of which is παραδιδόναι. ἀπολαμβάνειν and ἀποδιδόναι are generally used of restoration without a third party intervening, but this is not an invariable rule, see ch. 30, 17: ch. 42, 7.

18. ξυγχέαι—only here in Thucydides; σπονδῶν ξύγχυσις, ch. 26, 33: i. 146, fin.: Dem. *Timocr.* 729 (91), δλην ξυγχεῖ τὴν πολιτελαν: Verg. *Aen.* v. 496, *confundere foedus*. προυθυμουμένων—with accusative; cf. ch. 17, 7. τὰ ἃς Βοιωτούς—‘the arrangements with Boeotia’; ch. 46, 6, τὰ πρὸς Ἀργείους.

20. τοῦ χειμῶνος κ.τ.λ.—cf. ch. 56, 19: iv. 135, 1. καθηρέστο—the Boeotians at once began to dismantle the fortress; see ch. 42, 8.

## CHAPTER XL

1. ἄμα...θέρους—so iv. 117, 1, ἄμα ἦρι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους: vi. 8, 1, τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους ἄμα ἦρι: χειμῶν and θέρος being the half-yearly periods by which Thucydides reckons.

3. οὐχ ἥκον—this is Kruiger's conjecture for the MSS. reading ἥκουτο. One manuscript has ἥκοντο, which seems a confusion with the following τό. The uncompounded *ικνέομαι* does not occur in prose except sometimes in the participle; i. 99, 3, τὸ *ικνούμενον* ἀνάλωμα: Hdt. vi. 84, μᾶλλον τοῦ *ικνεομένου*: id. vi. 65, *ικνευμένως*: Dem. *Macart.* 1072 § 66 (in an oracle).

4. καθαιρούμενον—imperfect, as at the end of ch. 39. *τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς πρός*—'between the Boeotians and Lacedaemonians': see note on iv. 80, 2. *ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους...χωρήσῃ*—*πρός* is more usual, as in ch. 22, 14: *ἐς*, according to Classen, suggests the central position and centralising influence of Sparta. It may be so; on the other hand Thucydides uses *ἐς* more loosely than any preposition to denote relation of every kind: see ch. 41, 6: and the note on ch. 39, 19.

11. ὥστε οὐδὲ...εἶναι—the infinitive does not depend on *ώστε*, but is due to the *oratio obliqua* with *φοντο*, the negative of *oratio recta* (*ώστε οὐδὲ...ξστι*) being retained. Otherwise *ώστε* takes *μή* with the infinitive. In viii. 76, 7 we have an exact parallel to the present passage, *ώστε οὐδὲ τούτους παρὰ σφίσι* *χειρούς εἶναι* (in *oratio obliqua*). The usage is fully discussed and illustrated in the appendix to Shilleto's *Falsa Legatio*. For *εἶναι*=*παρεῖναι*, see note on iv. 8, 5.

13. ἐκ τῶν διαφορῶν—between Athens and Sparta. The Argives supposed that these differences were now at an end. *αὐτοῖς*—i.e. *σφίσι*: see note on ch. 32, 26.

14. αἱ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους...σπονδαῖ—see the end of ch. 14, etc. *ἀποροῦντες ταῦτα*—vii. 48, 5, *τὰ μὲν ἀπορεῖν*: Hdt. iv. 179, *ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἔξαγωγήν*. *ἐν φρονήματι δῆτες*—'proudly hoping', *elatis animis sperantes* (Poppo): cf. iii. 83, 4, *καταφρονοῦντες καν προαισθέσθαι*: iv. 80, 3, *ὑπὸ φρονήματος*, 'from their high spirit'.

23. ἡγούμενοι...κράτιστα—it is open to doubt whether *κράτιστα* is to be taken (1) as an adjective with *ἡγούμενοι*, 'thinking it the best course', or (2) adverbially with *σπονδᾶς*

*ποιησάμενοι*, ‘on the best terms admissible’. In the latter case *ἴγούμενοι* is used, as in ii. 42, 4 (a very important passage), in the sense ‘aequum censendi’: cf. Plat. *Protag.* 346 B, Σιμωνίδης *ἴγήσατο τέραννον ἐπανέσαι*: and see note on *νομίζω*, iv. 117, 1. (1) seems decidedly simpler. In i. 85, 3 *κράτιστα* is certainly an adjective; and such neuter plurals (e.g. *δινατά*) are not uncommon; while *ἄπορα νομίζοντες* (iii. 16, 2) is almost an exact parallel.

24. *ὅπῃ ἀν̄ ξυγχωρῆ*—‘on whatever terms might be agreed on’. *ξυγχωρεῖν*, to accede or agree, does not seem to be elsewhere used impersonally, except in a var. lect. from Xenophon, given by Liddell and Scott. If the reading be right, it is to be explained on the analogy of *ἔγχωρεῖ*, which is common; unless indeed *τὰ παρόντα* can be understood as the subject. If the impersonal usage were established, it would be convenient to take *συγχωρῆσαι*, Plat. *Phaedr.* 263 c, in this way.

## CHAPTER XLI

1. *ἀφικόμενοι αὐτῶν*—for the order of the words, see note on ch. 10, 49, *ξιστραφέντες*. *ἐφ' ω̄ ἀν̄*—this use of the relative for *ὅτω* is not uncommon, especially in affirmative statements; see Poppe and Krüger on i. 136, 3, *δηλοῦ δι ἔστι*: i. 137, 2, *φράζει δοτις ἔστι καὶ δι' ἀ φεύγει*: viii. 50, 5, *γράψας ω̄ ἀν̄ τρέπω αὐτὰ πράξεις*. *ἀν̄* of course goes with the verb, not with *φένει*: cf. vii. 36, 3, *ἔξ ὧν ἀν̄ ἀνθρώποι δεινοὶ...δράσειαν*.

5. *ἐπιτροπήν*—cf. ch. 31, 15, *δίκης ἐπιτραπείσης*. *σφίσι γενέσθαι*—Krüger considers *σφίσι* as perhaps an interpolation from two lines above; but it emphasizes the anxiety of the Argives ‘to be allowed to refer the question to arbitration’. ‘This did take place at a later period, and the result was, that Thyrea was awarded to the Argives, and retained by them down to the time of Pausanias’ (Arnold).

6. *Κυνοσουρίας*—*Kynouriás* is also read, as in iv. 56, 2, where see the note. *ἥσ ἀεὶ πέρι*—Classen, on i. 18, 3, *ἐσ τόνδε ἀεὶ τὸν πόλεμον*, gives other instances of this position of *ἀεὶ*. *μεθορίας*—the *Θυρέατις γῆ* is similarly described in ii. 27, 2; where Krüger also notes that adjectives compounded from *ὅπος* have often three terminations.

10. *μεμνήσθαι*—mentionem facere; a sense which, accord-

ing to Classen, is elsewhere confined to the aorist *μνησθῆναι*. *μνησθῆναι* governs the genitive directly (vi. 15, 2) or takes *περί* (viii. 47, 2). *έτοιμοι εἶναι*—sc. *λεγόντων*: constructed in accordance with the sense, as if *ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εἴων* had gone before: cf. vii. 3, 1, *κήρυκα προπέμπει αὐτοῖς λέγοντα, ε...*, *έτοιμος εἶναι σπένδεσθαι*: so in viii. 104, 3, we have a genitive absolute construction passing into the nominative.

15. **όποτεροισοῦν**—‘to either side’; ch. 18, 65: Plat. *Rep.* 509 *λ*, *ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι ὀπότερον αὐτῶν (alterutrum) οὐκ δρθὸν*: Dem. *pro Mag.* 209 § 27, *ἔαν μὴ ἐθέλωσι ποιεῖν ὀπότεροι ταῦτα*: *uter* is sometimes used indefinitely=either of two. **προκαλεσάμένοις**—‘after due challenge’. **πρότερόν ποτε**—the account of this combat is given by Herodotus (i. 82). Three hundred picked men fought on either side. At nightfall two Argives and one Spartan remained alive. The Argives claimed the victory because *ἐώντῶν πλεῦνες περιγεγύνασι*, the Spartans because their champion remained on the field, while the Argives went home. This was in the days of Croesus, in the middle of the sixth century.

18. **αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι**—Hdt. i. 82, *αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν*: Thuc. i. 105, 4, *ἐνόμισαν αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι οὐκ Ἑλασσον ἔχειν. μωρία εἶναι ταῦτα*—cf. ii. 41, 2, *οὐ λόγων κόμπος τάδε μᾶλλον η ἔργων ἔστιν ἀλήθεια*: Ar. *Ach.* 125, *ταῦτα δῆτ' οὐκ ἀγχόνη;*

22. **πάντως**—‘on any terms’; vi. 20, 1: Hdt. ix. 35, *πάντως συνεχώρεεν οἱ, accepted him on his own terms. πανταχῆ* is similarly used, Soph. *Aj.* 1369: *Ant.* 634: cf. ch. 36, 31, *καλῶς. ξυνεγράψαντο*—‘had the terms drawn up’.

24. **πρὶν τέλος...ἔχειν**—of final conclusion; iv. 118, 7, *τέλος ἔχοντες*, of ambassadors with final powers. **δεῖξαι**—sc. these terms, *αὐτά*, hence the subject of *ἀρέσκοντα*. Note the use of *εἶναι* with the participle. Krüger collects instances on i. 38, 2, *ἀρέσκοντές ἔσμεν*.

26. **ἐς τὰ Ὑακίνθια**—ch. 23, 24.

## CHAPTER XLII

The two next chapters deal, as we see from the beginning of ch. 44, with what passed while the Boeotian envoys were at Sparta.

6. *τοὺς παρά*—see note on ch. 15, 4. *αὐτῶν*--without Spartan sanction. We find however that the Athenians took a different view. *καθηρημένον*—the demolition of the works was now complete; see ch. 40 fin.

9. *ἐκ διαφορᾶς*—‘after a quarrel’; iv. 83, 3: iv. 125, 1. *κοινῆ νέμειν*—‘to use it as common pasture ground’. ‘The land was left unenclosed, on purpose to avoid disputes about the boundary line’ (Arnold).

15. *καὶ τοῦτο ἀποδιδόναι*—‘that this too was restoring it’; *καὶ* i.e. no less than actually giving it back, or perhaps ‘even this’, ‘this in itself’. Most editors appear to take *τοῦτο* as governed directly by *νομίζοντες* and *ἀποδιδόναι* as a predicate in apposition. It seems however better to regard *τοῦτο* as a cognate accusative with *ἀποδιδόναι*, *in this*, the literal rendering being ‘thinking that thereby too they gave it back’. There is an exact parallel to this construction, Eur. *Iph. T.* 299, *δοκῶν Ερινύς θεὰς ἀμύνεσθαι τάδε*, ‘thinking that in this he was repelling the Furies’.

17. *λεγομένων*—=‘as soon as the Athenians heard this’; the use of the imperfect verbs and participles to the end of the chapter is to be noticed. *δεινὰ ἐποίουν*—‘made an outcry’, or ‘broke out in uproar’. There are several instances of this use of the active in Hdt. e.g. ii. 121 f.; iii. 14: so [Dem.] Aristog. 788. *δεινὰ ποιεῖσθαι*, ‘to take a thing ill’=indignari, is a recognized phrase which occurs i. 102, 4: vi. 60, 4: Hdt. iii. 155: vii. 1; *ποιεῖσθαι* having the sense of ‘making for one’s self’, i.e. regarding. It has therefore been proposed to read *ἐποιοῦντο* here, but the editors retain *ἐποίουν*. As Barton and Chavasse point out, in the appendix to their edition of Book iv., the active refers to the external manifestations, noises etc., while the middle expresses the subjective feeling.

19. *ὅρθον*—so ch. 46, 15. Plutarch (*Alc.* 14) says *Λακεδαιμόνιοι Πάνακτον οὐχ ἔστωσαν, ὥσπερ ἔδει, τοῖς Αθηναῖοις παρέδωκαν ἀλλὰ καταλίσαντες*. Thucydides says nothing of its restoration; but both accounts agree that the Athenians attributed bad faith to Sparta. *καὶ πυνθανόμενοι*—=‘and because, as they heard’; *καὶ* with the participle corresponding to *τοῦ τε...καθαιρέσει*. The conclusion of an alliance with Boeotia seems not to have been generally known at Athens till now. Yet the Argives knew of it from the first (ch. 40, 5).

21. *φάσκοντες πρότερον*—see ch. 35, 14. *ὅσα...τῆς ξυνθήκης*—the editors seem to take *ξυνθήκης* as dependent on *ὅσα* and *ἔξελελοίπεσαν* as active. It seems better to regard *ἔξελελο-*

*πεσαν* as intransitive, governing ξυρθήκης, with δσα as cognate accusative. It is not clear whether ἐνόμιζον ἔξηπατῆσθαι is a main statement, or a subordinate one with δσα supplied.

## CHAPTER XLIII

The monotonous account of intrigues and counter-intrigues is broken for a moment by the mention of Alcibiades, who now for the first time comes upon the scene. He is the first man of commanding abilities who appeared at Athens since the death of Pericles, and henceforward the most prominent character to the close of our author's history.

3. *αδ*—‘in their turn, on their side’, as opposed to the war party in Sparta. *ἐνέκεντο*—*instabant*, see note on iv. 22, 2.

5. *ἡλικίᾳ...νέος*—the age of Alcibiades is a subject of some discussion, owing to the loose language of the authorities we have. Their statements are collected in Poppo's edition. It seems however agreed that he was in his fifth year when his father Cleinias fell at Coronea in 447. He served in the expedition to Potidaea in 432 (i. 61 sq.), *ἦτι μειράκιον ὥν* (Plut. *Alc.* 7). He was therefore now about thirty.

6. *ώς ἐν ἀλλῇ πόλει*—‘*ut in alia civitate*’; see note on iv. 84, 2, *ώς Λακεδαιμόνιος*. Thirty appears to have been the recognized age in Grecian states for entering on public life.

ib. *ἀξιώματι προγόνων*—according to Plutarch Alcibiades claimed descent from Eurysaces the son of Ajax. His mother was Dinomache, of the family of the Alcmaeonidae. In Dem. *Meid.* 561 § 144, where there is a description of the ancestry and achievements of Alcibiades, he is carelessly said *πρὸς πατρὸς Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν εἶναι*.

7. *καὶ ἄμεινον*—he supported the Argives from actual conviction *also*, as well as on other grounds. *οὐ μέντοι ἀλλά*—Krüger quotes Plato *Phaed.* 62 B, *δόξειεν οὕτω γ' εἶναι ἀλογον*· *οὐ μέντοι ἀλλ' ἵσως ἔχει τινὰ λόγον*: see Liddell and Scott, *ἀλλά*, II. 4. *φρονήματι φιλονεικῶν*—*φρόνημα* is personal pride and self-esteem; as in ii. 43, 6, *ἀνδρὶ γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι*: cf. ch. 40, 14. For the construction cf. iv. 64, 1, *μωρίᾳ φιλονεικῶν*.

10. **Δάχητος**—Laches is named next to Nicias in the lists of signatories in ch. 19 and 24. He also moved the ratification of the year's truce with Sparta in 423 (iv. 118. 7). **Ἐπραξαν**—'effected' or 'negotiated'; cf. what Alcibiades says at Sparta, vi. 89, 2, ὑμεῖς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καταλλασσόμενοι τοῖς μὲν ἐμοῖς ἔχθροῖς δύναμν, δι' ἐκείνων πράξαντες, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀτιμίας περιέθετε. Note the emphatic position of **αὐτόν**. Most manuscripts have **ἐαυτόν**, which Classen reads.

12. **κατά**—lit. 'in accordance with'. **προξενίαν**—cf. vi. 89, 2, τῶν δ' ἐμῶν προγόνων τὴν προξενίαν ὑμῶν κατά τι ἔγκλημα ἀπειπόντων, αὐτὸς ἐγώ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνων ἐθεράπευον ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ τε καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκ Πύλου ξυμφοράν. For the position of **ποτὲ** **οὖσαν** see ch. 34, 6: 35, 24 etc.

15. **πανταχόθεν τε**—'and so feeling himself slighted (at a disadvantage) in every way'; **τε** sums up and concludes. For **θλασσοῦσθαι** cf. ch. 30, 18. **τό τε πρῶτον...καὶ τότε**—'as at first...so now'; ch. 75, 27: cf. note on iv. 103, 4, **Ἐπραξάν τε ἐκ πλεονος...καὶ τότε**.

16. **βεβαιόουσ**—'to be relied on'; iii. 11, 1, **βεβαιότεροι ἀν** **ήμιν** **ἡσαν μηδὲν νεωτερεῖν**. **σφίσι=**'with us', as in ch. 37, 9: 72, 10. **ἔξελωσι=***expugnant, evertant*; iv. 122, 6, **Σκιωναίους** **ἔξελεῖν**: also with names of places. Classen notes that in this sense the aorist is always used.

23. **ώς...ὄντος...ξυμπράξων**—cf. iv. 5, 1, **ώς η ούχ υπομε-** **νοῦντας** (acc. abs.)...**η ῥαδίως ληψόμενοι βίᾳ**.

## CHAPTER XLIV

1. **τῆς τε**—**τε** and **καὶ** connect the two things which influenced the Argives, the message of Alcibiades, and true information about the Spartan and Boeotian alliance; in ch. 11, 11 we have a similar wording. **καὶ ἐπειδή**—see ch. 58, 2, for the same combination of participial and relative construction.

2. **οὐ μετ' Ἀθηναίων**—so iii. 66, 2, **οὐ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους**. **μετά** thus used is the converse of **ἀνευ**, iv. 78, 3, etc. The Argives were under a misapprehension (ch. 39, 14) when they sent their envoys.

7. οἱ σφίσι—lit. ‘whom they had away in Lacedaemon’ (ch. 41); cf. αὐτοῖς ch. 3, 24. πρὸς...τὴν γνώμην εἶχον—so ch. 48, 12: cf. ch. 13 fin.

9. ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ—i. 2, 3: ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαῖον ii. 15, 1. The two states had been in alliance since 463 (i. 102, 4). δῆμοκρατουμένην κ.τ.λ. the same words as in ch. 29, 10. τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν—these words (omitted by Stahl) are a kind of afterthought. The Argives reflect that Athens is especially strong at sea, where they themselves are weakest.

12. καθιστῶνται ἐσ—i. 23, fin. ἐσ τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν, and often: so ἐσ φυγῆν, φόβον etc. Ἡλεῖοι—the Eleans and Mantineans had been the first to join the league; ch. 29 and 31. τῆς ἔξυμμαχας—the contemplated alliance; ch. 13, 9.

16. δοκοῦντες—‘who were accounted friendly to (on good terms with) the Athenians’. Philocharidas is one of the signatories named in ch. 19 and 24. Endius appears in viii. 6, 3, as connected by hereditary friendship with Alcibiades.

18. δεῖσαντες—the envoys are identified with the government that sent them. τήν τε—τε and καὶ connect the two things the Lacedaemonians feared, that the Athenians would make an alliance with Argos and refuse to restore Pylos.

21. ἐπὶ κακῷ—iv. 86, 1, οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ ἐλήλυθα. The Lacedaemonian apology would involve some inconsistency with the statement in ch. 39, 14, εἰδότες μὲν δτι ἀδικήσουσιν Ἀθηναίον.

## CHAPTER XLV

1. ἐν τῇ βουλῇ—foreign ambassadors first presented their credentials to the βουλῇ, they were afterwards introduced to the ἐκκλησίᾳ.

4. μὴ καὶ ἦν—καὶ most probably goes with ἐσ τὸν δῆμον, the order being slightly irregular: Classen compares iv. 63, 2, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγαν εἰ τύχοιμεν (=εἰ καὶ ἄγαν): i. 120, 2, καν μέχρι σφῶν, etc. Krüger and Poppe would read ἦν καὶ. It is also possible to take καὶ with ἐπαγάγωνται τὸ πλῆθος (μὴ καὶ, ἦν...): this agrees with Plutarch (*Nic.* ch. 10) μὴ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐπαγάγωνται.

ib. ἐς τὸν δῆμον—i.e. in the ἐκκλησίᾳ. Classen follows Stahl in reading *ταῦτα* for *ταῦτα*. ἀπεσθῆ—ch. 22, 6, ἀπεώσαντο.

7. μηχανᾶται δέ—Krüger suggests δή, which Classen reads, comparing vi. 64, 1, τοιόνδε τι οἷν μηχανῶνται. πεῖθει—from this is supplied the sense ‘he promises’ and ‘he says’ with the following infinitives; or they may be connected with *πίστις* δούς ‘with the assurance that’. πίστιν δούς—Plut. *Ale.* 14, ὥρκους ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς: cf. i. 133, 1, *πίστιν διδόντος*: viii. 73, 3.

11. ὁσπερ καὶ νῦν ἀντιλέγειν—for ὁσπερ καὶ see Jowett’s note quoted on ch. 13, 8. For the infinitive ‘by assimilation’ in the relative clause in *oratio obliqua*, see Goodwin, § 755: cf. i. 91, 5, δσα μετ’ ἐκείνων βουλεύεσθαι (=ἐβουλεύοντο) οὐδενὸς ὑπεροι (ἔφασαν) γνώμη φανῆναι. τάλλα ξιναλλάξειν—‘will effect a reconciliation in all other respects’: i. 24, 4, τοὺς φεύγοντας ξιναλλάξαι σφίσι.

12. βουλόμενος...Νικίου τε—answered by καὶ δπως κ.τ.λ. τε and καὶ couple the most important words. For the form of the sentence cf. iv. 70, 1, ἔδεισε περὶ τε τοῖς...καὶ μή: Plat. *Protog.* 326 A, σωφροσύνης τε ἐπιμελοῦνται καὶ δπως. ἀληθέες—Krüger would read ὑγίεις, the word used by Plut. *Ale.* 14 fin. (iv. 22, 2, ει τὸ ὑγίεις διανοοῦνται); but there seems no justification for the change. ἐν νῷ ἔχοντιν—‘mean, intend’; so iv. 22, 2, οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας δίκαιοι: νῷ ἔχειν without ἐν is ‘to bear in mind’, remember: see note on iv. 8, 5, ἐν νῷ εἰχον.

18. παρελθόντες—the regular term for ‘coming forward’ in the assembly. παραγάγόντες, line 23, is the corresponding active word.

19. οὐκ ἔφασαν ὁσπερ—sc. ἔφασαν: ‘in answer to the question whether they had full powers replied No, in direct contradiction to what they had said in the Council’ (Jowett). οὐ φῆμι=to deny, but the clause is framed in accordance with the literal construction rather than the actual force. καταβοῶντος—i. 67, 1, κατεβόων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, δτι....

24. σεισμοῦ—cf. ch. 50 fin.: viii. 6, 5. But if an earthquake happened after any enterprise was actually begun, it was interpreted as a sign of encouragement on the part of the gods to persevere in it. See Xen. *Hell.* iv. 7, 4’. (Arnold.) See Liddell and Scott, διοσημία.

## CHAPTER XLVI

1. **τῇ δ' ὥστεραίᾳ**—‘next day’s assembly’; so i. 44, 1. It has been questioned whether **τῇ ὥστεραίᾳ** (**μάχῃ**), vii. 11, 2, has this meaning or simply = **ὥστέρᾳ**. **καίπερ** belongs especially to **καὶ αὐτός**, ‘himself too’, as Classen indicates by marking off with commas the clause **τῶν...ἡπατημένων**. The two participial clauses are not coordinate, but the second is the consequence of the first. Alcibiades had deceived the envoys, and Nicias thus found himself in a thoroughly false position. The strengthened form of the participle **ἔξηπατημένος** emphasizes the disappointment of Nicias, if indeed it has any particular force. Poppo however considers that sound is sometimes consulted rather than sense in such alliterative clauses. He cites Eur. *Iph.* T. 984, *σῶσον...ἔκσωσον*, etc.

4. **ὅμως**—disappointed as he was by the envoys, he still clung to the hope of a Lacedaemonian alliance. **ἐπισχόντας**—ch. 32, 28. **τὰ πρὸς Ἀργείους**—ch. 39, 19, **τὰ ἐς Βοιωτούς**.

8. **λέγων**—‘urging’, lit. going on with his speech: Poppo, with Arnold, takes it = *iubens, suadens*; ‘advising them to put off’; a force of which instances from tragedy may be found in Liddell and Scott. There are also prose instances in Krüger’s Grammar, § 55. 3, 13. Here however there is no need thus to force the meaning of **λέγω**. To render ‘saying, we (thus) put off the war’, gives an excellent sense.

ib. **ἐν...καλῷ**—under conditions and circumstances which bring honour to us and discredit to Sparta. **ἐν καλῷ** is used of conditions and circumstances, ch. 59, 21; ch. 60, 13; though there the sense is somewhat different. For the use of adjectives cf. vi. 11, 6, **τὸ σφέτερον ἀπρεπές**.

11. **ώς ἐπὶ πλεῦστον**—with **διασώσασθαι**, as **ὅτι τάχιστα** goes with **διακινδυνεῦσαι**: it being a common mannerism of Thucydides thus to break up the stiffness of grammatical connexion. For the force of the aorist cf. ch. 16, 14. **εὑρημα**—Hdt. vii. 155: Xen. *Anab.* ii. 3, 18, **εὑρημα ἐποιησάμην**, el.

15. **όρθον**—as Panactum was already known to be dismantled (ch. 42, 19), this looks like an attempt to please the mob with a show of spirit, unless indeed the demolition was supposed to be incomplete. **ἀνεῖναι**—so **τὴν ἐπιτροπήν** ch. 31, 17. **καθάπερ εἴρητο**—ch. 39, 15.

19. δτι...πεποιησθαι—after the conditional clause the construction with δτι is neglected; so iv. 37, 1, γροις δτι, ει... ἐνδάσονται, διαφθαρησομένους αύτοίς. ἀν...πεποιησθαι—pluperfect. The combination of tenses implies, ‘if we wished to wrong you (which we do not), we should have already made the Argives our allies’. The imperfect refers to a wish, the present existence of which is denied, the pluperfect to one definite act, which would have been completed before now: Goodwin, § 410.

20. ως παρένται—ch. 45, 11 note. αύτούς αύτοῦ—Poppo, on ch. 30, 14, collects instances of similar jingles, which plainly were not unpleasing to the writer's ear. ει τι=δσα, and so it is answered by πάντα.

22. τοὺς περὶ Νικίαν—ch. 13, 2: so infra, line 29. ἀνήσουσι Βοιωτοῖς—lit. ‘throw it back on the hands of the Boeotians, unless etc.’, or Βοιωτοῖς may be *dativus incommodi*.

29. ἐπικρατούντων—vi. 74, 1, ἐπεκράτουν μὴ δέχεσθαι. τὸν ἔφορον—the repetition of the article is ugly, and Classen omits the words as an interpolated note: cf. however ii. 67, 2, τὸν Σάδοκον τὸν γεγενημένον Ἀθηναῖον. ἔφόρων should possibly be read instead of τὸν ἔφορον, as two manuscripts have ἔφόρων and one omits τὸν. For Xenares and his party see ch. 36, 9.

30. τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης—i. 113, 2, δσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ήσαν. ἀνενεώσαντο—according to the provisions of the treaty concluded the year before, ch. 18, 61.

33. αἰτίος—‘for he was accounted responsible for the treaty with Sparta’. The position of this clause makes it an explanation of δπερ καὶ ἔγένερο. Note δοκῶν not δξας: not ‘he feared he might be accounted’ etc.: but ‘being held responsible as he was, he feared he should be discredited’.

36. δι' ὅργης είχον—according to Classen simply ‘were indignant’, but an object seems implied though not expressed. They were indignant at Nicias' failure or at the conduct of the Lacedaemonians. The other instances which Classen cites may be similarly explained. παρόντες implies that the envoys were already in Athens; παραγαγόντος that they were now brought before the assembly.

## CHAPTER XLVII

Defensive treaty between Athens and the Argive league. Mantinea and Elis, no less than Argos and Athens, are spoken of as imperial States, the meaning being that the towns which Mantinea had acquired (ch. 29) and Lepreum, which was claimed by Elis (ch. 31), are recognised as their subject allies (Jowett). In Professor Jowett's second volume there is an account of a fragment of a marble tablet, containing portions of this treaty, discovered in 1877 on the Acropolis.

1. *έκατὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτη*—cf. the order in iii. 90 fin. *ἐπελθόντων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων... προσεχώρησαν*.

4. *έκάτεροι*—Athens and Argos respectively, not = *έκαστοι*. The members of the Argive league are here taken as a whole: in line 35 it is different. *ἀδόλους*—see ch. 18, 13, etc. The wording of this treaty is in many respects identical with the formulas in ch. 18 and 23, with slight verbal changes, e.g. *μὴ... τέχνῃ μηδὲ μηχανῇ* is here written instead of *μήτε τέχνῃ μήτε μηχανῇ*. There is the usual mixture of imperative and infinitive construction.

6. *ἐπὶ πημονῇ*—ch. 18, 15.

15. *ἐπαγγέλλωσιν*—‘send word’ i.e. require; so vi. 56, 1, *ἐπαγγείλαντες ἥκειν*. Sometimes the word is used with the acc. like *impero*; iii. 16, 3, *κατὰ πόλεις ἐπήγγελλον τεσσαράκοντα νεῶν πλῆθος*; vii. 17, 1, *στρατιὰν ἐπαγγέλλων ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους*.

18. *ταύτην τὴν πόλιν*—‘the state in question’, so twice in ch. 23.

35. *μηδὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν*—see ch. 56, 7. Krüger, who is followed by Stahl, regards these words as spurious, but they seem intended to guard against any possible evasion. *εἶναι*—‘be allowed’. *ἢν μή*—*διλωσι* or *ἔωσι* may be mentally supplied. Such participial constructions are not uncommon with *εἰ μή* and in effect are simply adverbial.

40. *ἔπηγν ξλθη*—*ἐπήγν* occurs twice towards the end of viii. 58, in the terms of a treaty; and three times in Aristot-

phanes. In Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1364, it is read by Hermann and Paley (for ἐπάν), and is found in Isocrates and Xenophon. The later form ἐπάν, according to Krüger's *Grammar*, is more strictly Attic. The subject of θεη is supplied from the sense, sc. η βοήθεια or η στρατιά.

41. ἀπιοῦσι κατὰ ταύτα—the words κατὰ ταύτα are confusing. They seem at first to suggest another period of thirty days; but they probably only imply maintenance on the way home, ‘in the same manner’ as on the way out. The city which applied for aid was thus entitled to help for 30 clear days without incurring expense.

43. τῶ μὲν ὄπλιτη—*for this use of τόφ=‘each’, Krüger compares Xen. Anab. i. 3, 21, ὑπισχνεῖται δώσειν τρία ἡμιδαρεικὰ τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ.* Arnold says ‘It shews the democratic character of the contracting commonwealth, that the archer, and even the light-armed soldier, should have received the same pay as the heavy-armed soldier. Thus at Athens even the seamen received as high pay as the heavy-armed soldier: see iii. 17, 4 : vi. 31, 3’. The archers are distinguished from the other light-armed troops, as in iv. 36, 1, where Poppo’s note may be consulted.

44. τρεῖς ὄβολοὺς Αἰγιναῖος—usually assumed to be equivalent to five Attic obols; the Aeginetan and Corinthian drachma being worth ten Attic obols. See Jowett on iii. 70, 4, where a different view is noticed.

54. κατὰ ιερῶν τελείων—‘over’ lit. ‘down over, or on’: Dem. *Aph.* 852, § 26, κατ’ ἔμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, ‘on our heads’: id. *Con.* 1269, § 40, κατὰ ταιδῶν. ιερὰ τέλεια seem to be ‘full-grown victims’, rather than ‘victims without blemish’ or ‘in full numbers’. Arnold compares Hdt. i. 183, where τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων are contrasted with τὰ γαλαθηνά. So *hostiae maiores* are distinguished from *hostiae lactentes*.

59. αἱ ἔνδημοι ἀρχαῖ—‘the home authorities’, meaning, according to Arnold, the archons, secretaries etc. as opposed to the στρατηγοὶ or foreign office. In Aesch. *Timarch.* 45, we have μηδὲ ἀρχὴν ἀρχέτω μηδεμίαν μήτε ἔνδημον μήτε ὑπερόριον: so Ar. *Pol.* iii. 9, 8, τὰ ἔνδημα are home affairs, τὰ ὑπερόρια foreign affairs: cf. Thuc. i. 70, 4, ἀποδημηταὶ τρὸς ἔνδημοτάτους ‘most stay-at-home people’. For the concrete use of ἀρχαῖ, see note on τὰ τέλη, iv. 15, 1.

61. ἔξορκούντων—‘administer the oath’; Dem. *Meid.* 535, § 65: in Hdt. iii. 133, and iv. 154, ἔξορκῶ takes the accusative and denotes binding a person by oath.

*ib.* οἱ ὄγδοηκοντα—nothing is known of these. They may have been a more aristocratical council than the βουλὴ, and the ἀρτūναι may have been the presiding officers, who, as Müller suggests, had succeeded to the civil authority of the kings (Arnold). If *ai* ἀρτūναι is the right reading, it is analogous to *ai* ἀρχαῖ: *oi* ἀρτūναι (Duker) would come from ἀρτύνας (*ης*). Poppo suggests *oi* ἀρτυνοι, a form found in Plutarch.

62. οἱ δημιουργοί—a common title of the magistrates in the Peloponnesian states, with the exception of Lacedaemon. In i. 56, 2, ἐπιδημιουργοί are officials sent from Corinth to the colony of Potidaea. οἱ θεωροί—‘a sacred college, whose functions were perpetual, like the colleges of pontifices and augurs at Rome. Like the Pythii at Lacedaemon, they had the care of all oracles delivered to the state, and probably had a general control over religious matters’ (Arnold).

64. οἱ τὰ τέλη ἔχοντες—Arnold says that the phrase is not simply equivalent to *oi* ἐν τέλει or *ta* τέλη. He believes that some particular ‘council of administration’ is probably meant, smaller than the general council of six hundred. Krüger brackets the words as spurious, the phrase being unusual. In iv. 118, 7, τέλος ἔχοντες means ‘having full powers’.

66. ἀνανεώνθαι—see ch. 18, 61. Arnold points out that the times specified were such that the renewal of the oaths might be completed on both sides before the return of their respective great public festivals. The great Panathenaea were celebrated every four years, in the third year of the Olympiad.

74. ἐν ἀγορᾷ—ch. 18, 64, note: ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, as below, is more common.

76. καταθέντων—‘deposit’, instead of the more usual στήσαι (ch. 18, 62); this tablet and inscription would be in the care of the Eleans. τοὺς νυν—at the Olympian festival which was close at hand, ch. 49, init.

## CHAPTER XLVIII

1. *ai* ξυμμαχίαι—Classen reads ἡ ξυμμαχία, as in ch. 27, 2, where see note. Here at any rate the plural seems unobjectionable, as four contracting powers are concerned.

3. οὐκ ἀπέρηντο—‘were not renounced’; the active is not uncommon in this sense. The pluperfect denotes not only the fact, but the state of things resulting, i.e., the continuance of the alliance between Athens and Sparta; see note on iv. 13, 1.

ib. οὐδ' ὑφ' ἔτέρων—ii. 67, 5 μηδὲ μεθ' ἔτέρων etc.: so Dem. Aeschin. etc. *ἐν οὐδετέροις* and the like forms are characteristic of late Greek (Krüger).

4. Κορίνθιοι δέ κ.τ.λ.—though the Corinthians had become allies of Argos (ch. 31, 28) they would not join the new league, just as they had before refused to be parties to an offensive and defensive alliance. We have no particulars of this in ch. 29—31; but it would seem that the other confederates of Argos had made such an alliance, while the Corinthians had only concluded a defensive treaty, as they originally proposed (ch. 27, 15). This treaty they now call *τὴν πρώτην γενομένην ἐπιμαχίαν*. The words *ἀλλὰ καὶ...οὐ* *ξινώμοσαν* are thus parenthetical, and *ἀρκεῖν δ' ἤφασαν* carries on the sense from οὐκ *ἴσηλθον*.

9. *τὴν πρώτην γενομένην*—so iv. 38, 3, ο τελευταῖος διαπλεύσας. *ἐπιμαχίαν*—a defensive alliance; i. 44, 1, *ἐπιμαχίαν δὲ ἐποιήσαντο τῷ ἀλλήλων βοηθεῖν*. The verb has been noticed ch. 27, 16. These words do not occur elsewhere in Thucydides.

10. οἱ μέν—so ch. 67, 11: iv. 32, 1 etc.: a fresh sentence more commonly begins with οἱ μὲν οὖν or καὶ οἱ μέν. *πρὸς... εἰχον*—cf. ch. 44, 8.

## CHAPTER XLIX

1. *'Ολύμπια...οῖς*—so iii. 8, ἦν δὲ *'Ολυμπιάς* ἢ Δωριεὺς τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα. *οῖς* and *ἢ*, datives of time or date, may explain such constructions as ii. 20, 1, ἐκείνη τῇ ἐσβολῇ: iv. 26, 7, *γαλήνῃ* ‘in a calm’. Editors note that in later times it was generally the victor in the *στάδιον* whose name was associated with the Olympiad. Possibly Thucydides names athletes of unusual distinction. See Lid. and Scott for the difference between *'Ολύμπια* and *'Ολυμπιάς*.

3. *ἐνίκα*—‘was victorious’; the imperfect is the regular usage with *νικῶ* even when a single definite victory is in

question: i. 13 fin. *Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες*: so with *κρατῶ* etc. (Goodwin § 27). In vi. 16, 2, however, where Alcibiades is speaking of his Olympic victory, he says *ἐνίκησα δέ*, 'I won the prize'; regarding his former victory as a single fact now entirely past; see note on ch. 51, 8.

*ib. τοῦ ἱεροῦ*—the whole of the sacred precincts. The Lacedaemonians were excluded from taking part in the ceremonies and games in any public recognized capacity.

5. *τὴν δίκην*—'the penalty'; an uncommon use of the word to denote a specific fine. Such passages as Soph. *Aj.* 113, *κείνος δὲ τίσει τήνδε κούκ ἀλλην δίκην*, are only partly analogous. *ἐν τῷ... νόμῳ*—'in accordance with'; i. 77, 1, *ἐν τοῖς ὅμοιοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις*: ch. 31, 23, *ἐν ᾧ*: Dem. *Lept.* 497, § 131, *τὰ ψηφίσματα ἐν οἷς ἀτελεῖς εἰσὶν*. The expression, as Arnold says, seems to denote what was *specified in the law*; he compares vii. 11, 1, *τὰ μὲν πραχθέντα ἐν ἀλλαις πολλαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἔστε*.

6. *κατεδικάσαντο αὐτῶν*—'had got them condemned to pay': *καταδικάζω*, like other legal words (e.g. *τιμᾶν*, *τιμᾶσθαι*), is used in the active of the court which pronounces the judgment, in the middle of the plaintiff in whose interest the court acts: Dem. *Meid.* 571, § 176, *δίκην ἐμπορικὴν καταδικασάμενος Μενίππου*, 'having obtained a verdict in a mercantile suit against Menippus'. In the present case the plaintiffs and judges would seem to have been more or less identical, being Eleans; but no complaint is made of this, the only dispute being about the facts.

7. *φάσκοντες (ἐs) σφᾶς*—*ἐs* is a conjecture which is due to Shilleto. It might have easily dropped out after the word before, and it gives an excellent sense, the Eleans complaining that 'their territory was invaded' at two points; cf. iv. 77, 1, *στρατεύειν ἐs Βοιωτούς*. The manuscript reading, *φάσκοντες σφᾶς*, is very suspicious. Classen refers *σφᾶς* to *Λακεδαιμονιοι*, the main subject of the sentence, and explains a similar *σφᾶς* in vi. 61, 5, in the same way. See note on *σφίσι*, ch. 38, 22. Jowett, on the other hand, considers that the Herodotean usage of *σφέας* etc. for *αὐτούς* is not altogether extinct in Thucydides, especially when repetition is to be avoided. Many editors adopt Dobree's conjecture *σφῶν*, comparing such phrases as viii. 96, 2, *σφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ πλεῖν*. *σφίσιν* might also be suggested.

The military operations of which Elis complained must have taken place after what is related in ch. 31, 20, unless

indeed that account is partly anticipatory. Possibly, as Grote suggests, the Eleans had renewed their attacks on the district of Lepreum.

8. **αὐτῶν**—dependent on **Λέπρεον** according to most editors: Jowett however seems right in taking it with **στλίτας**. We have seen (ch. 31) that the Eleans refused to accept the award of the independence of Lepreum, after being strengthened by their new allies. Classen inserts **χιλίους** before **στλίτας**.

10. **καταδίκη**—‘fine’; (Dem.) *Euerg.* 1154, § 51. **ἡσαν**—cf. i. 10, 1, **Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν**. Arnold points out that two minae was the ordinary ransom of a Peloponnesian soldier taken prisoner in battle; Hdt. vi. 79, **ἀπονα δέ ἐστι Πελοποννησίου δύο μνέαι τεταγμέναι κατ' ἄνδρα αἰχμάλωτον ἐκτίνειν**.

13. **καταδεδικάσθαι**—probably passive impersonal or with **τὴν δίκην** implied as subject, like **ἔὰν δ' ἀργυρίου τιμῆθῇ** (*Timocr.* 721), and similar phrases in Demosthenes. Classen however takes it as middle, which is possible so far as the form is concerned.

15. **'Ηλεῖοι δέ**—‘the Eleans maintained that the truce at Elis was already in force &c.’. They were thus precluded from resisting the Spartan aggression. How the Spartans were to be expected to know that the truce had begun does not appear; the Eleans seem to have had the entire regulation of all matters concerning the Olympic festival.

20. **ὑπελάμβανον**—‘rejoined, urged in reply’; ii. 72, 1, **ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε**. The word is perpetually used in Demosthenes of counter-arguments. **Ἐτι**—‘after this’. **ἀδικεῖν**—lit. to be already **ἀδικοι**: **ἀδικεῖν** being one of the verbs thus used in the present, like **φεύγειν**, ‘to be in exile’, **νικᾶν**, etc. to denote a present condition following a past act. **ἀδικήσαντας**, just before, refers to the commission of a definite act of trespass.

22. **ἄλλ' οὐχ ὡς νομίζοντας**—lit. ‘but that they had done this (announced the treaty) not as if they considered themselves wronged (but as if they did not)’. Krüger (*Grammar* § 67, 4) shows the elliptical nature of such constructions; cf. Eur. *Hip.* 699, **ἱητοῦσα φάρμαχ' ηὔρον οὐχ ἀθουλόμην**: Xen. *Mem.* i. 1, 19, **Σωκράτης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν ἀνθρώπων οὐχ διν τρόπον οι πολλοὶ νομίζουσι**.

*ib.* **καὶ...ἐπενεγκεῖν**—‘and that they (the Lacedaemonians) had not after this attacked them at any point’. Note the change of subject.

23. τοῦ αὐτοῦ...εἴχοντο—‘held to the same statement’; iv. 66, 2, τούτου τοῦ λόγου ἔχεσθαι: Hdt. vii. 5, τοιούτου λόγου εἴχετο: vii. 6, τῶν αὐτέων λόγων ἔχόμενοι. μὴ ἀν πεισθῆναι—‘they could not be convinced’; i. 139, 1, προσλεγον μὴ ἀν γενέσθαι πόλεμον: vi. 102 fin. νομίσαντες μὴ ἀν ἔτι ικανοὶ γενέσθαι: but iv. 99, 2, νομίζοντες...οὐκ ἀν κρατῆσαι. There seems no difference in meaning between the two forms of expression; though *οὐ* is the more regular, being retained from the direct speech: see Goodwin, § 685: Madvig’s *Syntax*, § 205. Can any difference in meaning be seen between λέγοντες μὴ ἐπηγγέλθαι πω (line 13) and ὑπελάμβανον...οὐδαμόσε ἐπενεγκεῖν (line 23)? Both represent a direct statement with *οὐ*.

27. γίγνεται—‘becomes due’: Dem. *Timocr.* 726, § 83, τὸ τίμημα τὸ γιγνόμενον.

## CHAPTER L

5. ἀπομόσαι—this is the invariable reading, and is interpreted ‘to swear solemnly’. Elsewhere ἀπόμυναι always has a negative force, and means ‘to disclaim on oath’. Should ἀπομόσαι be read here? Arnold suggests that ἀπομόσαι may perhaps be justified, as the oath would be exculpatory in effect.

8. θυσίας καὶ ἀγώνων—usually regarded as explanatory of τοῦ λεροῦ, and coordinate in construction. Some authorities however take τοῦ λεροῦ as dependent on θυσίας, or conversely translate, ‘from the sacred observance of sacrifice’. The position of the article is against such renderings. Krüger suggests that θυσίας καὶ ἀγώνων may be a note interpolated from ch. 49, 4.

9. Ἐθεώρουν—were formally represented by their θεωροί: viii. 10 init. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐθεώρουν ἐς αὐτά (τὰ Ἰσθμα). Individual Spartans were not excluded.

11. ξὺν σπλοισ—‘under arms’; one of the regular phrases in which *ξὺν* is used in prose. Classen unaccountably takes τῶν νεωτέρων as dependent on σπλοισ, and naturally calls it a strange expression. Surely the construction is obvious even

without such instances as *τεῶν τριῶν φυλακή* (ii. 93 fin.): *τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν τριήρων ἐλάνθανον* (iv. 26, 7).

13. *ἐν Ἀργείᾳ ὑπέμενον*—‘had been waiting at Argos for the feast’, and then moved towards Olympia (Jowett). This is a legitimate sense of the imperfect, referring to duration of time before *ἡλθον*; cf. i. 9, 2, *ὅσων Εὐρυσθεῖς προχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρέα παραλαβεῖν*. Otherwise the reading *ἐν Ἀργείᾳ* must be wrong, as Argos was seventy or eighty miles off. Classen accordingly adopts *ἐν Ἀρτίνῃ*, Harpina being a town in the valley of the Alpheus, 20 stadia from Olympia. It seems however natural that Argos, the head of the league with Athens, would find quarters for an Athenian detachment, which had probably been sent in readiness by the advice of Alcibiades.

16. *Δίξας*—Lichas was a man of eminence. He was one of the envoys to Argos, ch. 22, 11 (cf. ch. 76, 13), and is mentioned several times in the eighth Book. *ἐν τῷ ἀγώνι*—‘on the course’ or place of contest, an Homeric use; so infr. line 20. Otherwise the meaning might be ‘in the midst of the assembly’ or ‘during the meeting’.

17. *ὑπὸ τῶν ῥαβδούχων*—the *ῥαβδοῦχοι* were probably the officials acting under orders from the presiding *Ἐλλασοδικαι* or *ἀγωνοθέται*, rather than these authorities themselves. *πληγὰς λαμβάνω* is the regular phrase for ‘being beaten’ and is accordingly constructed with *ὑπό*. For the ‘defective verb *τύπτω*’, see the Appendix to Sandys’ *Private Orations of Demosthenes*.

Grote points out how much less harsh and rough, by comparison with this incident, was the manner of dealing at Athens, where personal violence was illegal. He adds ‘the boldness of the Eleans in putting this affront upon the most powerful state in Greece is so astonishing, that we can hardly be mistaken in supposing their proceeding to have been suggested by Alcibiades and encouraged by the armed aid from the allies. He was at this moment not less ostentatious in humiliating Sparta than in showing off Athens’ (ch. 55).

18. *νυκῶντος*—ch. 49, 2. *ζεύγους*—chariot and pair. Whether Lichas won the final heat we do not know, or even whether there were more heats than one. Grote (ch. 55) discusses the matter at length, and strives to show that this was the Olympian festival at which Alcibiades made his unparalleled display of magnificence as *θεωρός*, and entered seven chariots, taking the first, second and fourth place (vi. 16, 2).

19. Βοιωτῶν δημοσίου—Lichas had entered his chariot under the name of the ‘Boeotian community’, which was accordingly declared victorious: Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2, 21, Λιχα παραδόντος Θηβαῖοις τὸ ἄρμα. δημόσιον may mean a state, as in Hdt. i. 14, Κορινθίων τού δημοσίου: and the article is omitted, as it often is with quasi-proper names, so ch. 18, 42, ἐν δημοσίῳ (ἐν τῷ just before): vi. 31, 3, ἐκ δημοσίου. Poppe suggests that δημοσίου might possibly be taken as an adjective agreeing with *ζεύγους*, ‘his chariot being proclaimed as belonging to the Boeotian state’. States, like kings, seem to have competed in the race; cf. vi. 16, 2, where Alcibiades says that he entered more chariots than any private person before him.

19. οὐκ ἔξουσίαν—see note on ch. 35, 7. ἀγώνιστις is not found elsewhere in classical Greek. ἀνέδησε—iv. 121, 1, στεφάνῳ ἀνέδησαν.

24. ἡσυχασταν—the aorist, ‘became quiet’ or ‘were pacified’, suggests that they had actually made some threatening movement; otherwise we should expect the imperfect: cf. viii. 86, 2, μόλις ἡσυχάσαντες ἤκουσαν. αὐτοῖς—‘as for them’; ch. 3, 24. The Lacedaemonians seem meant, though Krüger refers the word to *πάντες*. Twelve years afterwards the Spartans avenged the insult they had received, by invading and ravaging the land of Elis; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2, 23—31.

28. τέλος—‘finally’; ii. 100 fin. τέλος ἡσυχίαν ἥγον: vii. 44, 7 etc.

## CHAPTER LI

1. Ἡρακλεώταις—see note on iv. 78, 1. The establishment of Heraclea as a Lacedaemonian colony and place of arms, and the hostility with which it was regarded by the neighbouring Thessalians, are described in iii. 92, 93. In those chapters we have terms corresponding to those in the present passage. For πολέμια ἦν cf. iii. 93, 2, διὰ παντὸς ἐπολέμουν: for ἐπὶ...ἔτειχισθη ib. ὡν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐτειχίσητο (so iv. 75, 1, ἐπὶ τῇ Σάμῳ, of a standing menace): for καθισταμένη passive, iii. 92, 4, καλῶς ἐδόκει καθιστασθαι: for φθείροντες, iii. 93, 2, ἔφθειρον

6. εὐθύς τε...καὶ τότε—see note on ch. 43, 16.

8. ἐνίκησαν—so i. 29, 4, where Classen points out that the aorist is used, instead of the more common imperfect, to denote the single fact of victory, without reference to the state of things resulting. See ch. 49, 3, note.

9. Ξενάρης—the ephor named in ch. 36, 9. Κνίδιος, if the reading is right, seems to be genitive of Κνίδις, Ionic in form, like Ἀφύτιος, i. 64, 2 : Γοάξιος, iv. 107, 3. Cnidis however is an unknown name.

## CHAPTER LII

3. παρέλαβον—‘took into their own hands’; so twice in iii. 50. τὸν—so iii. 25, 1, Σάλαιθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος: iii. 100, 2, Μακάριος καὶ Μενεδάῖος οἱ Σπαρτιάται etc. The article in such instances does not seem to imply previous mention or special distinction. Sometimes indeed there may be an idea of opposition, as in this instance between the Lacedaemonian governor and the other colonists.

4. ὡς οὐ καλῶς—see the end of iii. 93, where the ruin of Heraclea is attributed to the Spartan governors. ξέπεμψαν is a milder word than ἔξεβαλον: cf. iv. 49.

6. τὰ κατά—determinant accusative; ii. 96, 3, οὐ ὠρίζετο ἡ ἀρχὴ τὰ πρὸς Παιονας. Such phrases as iii. 6, 2, τὰ περὶ Μυτιλήνην οὗτως ἐπολεμεῖτο, are open to doubt. Classen takes them as nominative; Poppe and Krüger as accusative with an impersonal passive verb: see ch. 26, 32.

12. τῶν αὐτόθεν—partitive genitive; iv. 80, 2, τῶν Ειλώτων ἐκπέμψαι. παραλαβών is used like παρακαλῶν in ch. 6, 20.

15. Πατρέας—Hdt. i. 145, Πατρέες: Πάτραι (now Patras) was the name of the place; Thuc. ii. 83, 3, ἐκ Πατρῶν τῆς Ἀχαίας. τείχη καθεῖναι—cf. iv. 103, 5, οὐ καθεῖτο τείχη. The Athenians would thus have a secure naval station at Patrae, which would command the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf, being seawards

of Rhium and Naupactus. On the same principle they had built the long walls at Megara, and garrisoned them themselves (iv. 103, 4).

16. ἔτερον—sc. τεῖχος, perhaps now, as Poppe suggests, in the sense of fortified position. τῷ Πίω—see ii. 84, 4 and 86, 2 for the opposite promontories called Rhium.

18. οἰς ἦν ἐν βλάβῃ τειχισθέν—‘who would be injured by its construction’; or perhaps ‘who considered that they would be injured’; lit. ‘to whom it was being (was likely to be) injurious’. The imperfect indicative without *δν* is used in certain cases of (generally unfulfilled) condition, e.g. ἔχρην, ἔδει, ἡναγκαζόμην, κίνδυνος ἦν etc. (Goodwin § 416 sq.: Krüger’s Grammar § 53, 2, 7): ἦν ἐν βλάβῃ is therefore not irregular. For the combination with τειχισθὲν=ει ἔτειχισθη (or τειχισθεῖη), cf. viii. 92, 10, ἥρωτων ει δοκεῖ αὐτῷ τὸ τεῖχος ἀμεῖνον εἶναι καθαιρεθέν=τὸ καθαιρεθῆναι τὸ τεῖχος: so i. 100, 3, οἰς πολέμιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον κτιζόμενον. Dobree, who considered *δν* to be necessary here, proposed to read οἰς ἦν δν βλάβη, but ἐν βλάβῃ is an idiomatic phrase, equivalent to an adjective, which should in any case be retained: cf. Hdt. iv. 139, Σκύθησι ἔστι ἐν ἡδονῇ: Eur. *Iph.* T. 494, εἰ σοι τοῦτ’ ἐν ἡδονῇ μαθεῖν: so Tac. *Ann.* xii. 15, nec fuit in arduo societas.

### CHAPTER LIII

2. προφάσει μέν—so vi. 76, 2, προφάσει μὲν...διανοίᾳ δέ: The accusative is also used, as in ch. 80, 21: iii. 111, 1. Here *μέν* is answered by ἔδοκει δέ. Πυθαέως—from nom. Πυθαέύς: so Μηλιέως, iv. 100, 1. The mss. have Πυθέως. Arnold believes that a temple at Argos is meant. Poppe and Classen refer the passage to a temple at Asine, which the Argives, according to Pausanias, left standing after the destruction of the town. In any case a sacrifice seems to have been due from Epidaurus to the temple, in acknowledgement of some privilege of pasturage or the like.

4. ἀπαγαγεῖν...ἀπέπεμπον—compounds like ἀποδιδόναι, ‘to pay when due’: Ar. *Ach.* 643, τὸν φόρον ὑμῖν ἀπάγοντες: so *Vesp.* 707: cf. reddere rationem, poenas, etc.

5. **βοταμίων**—apparently ‘pasture-lands’, but not found elsewhere. Stahl reads **βοτανῶν**, comparing Plat. *Rep.* 401 B, *ἐν κακῷ βοτάνῃ* ‘in bad pasture’; but there the word means food rather than land. Poppo adopts the reading of some manuscripts, **παραποταμίων** ‘river-side lands’. **βωταμίων** ‘sacrifices’ (Doric for **βουτ.**) has also been suggested; with the meaning that Epidaurus neglected to send the necessary victims which entitled them to share in religious rites. No word of the kind is however known, as is shown in Poppo’s edition.

6. **τῆς αἰτίας**—‘this ground of complaint’, lit. ‘their’, that which they had. For *aitia* cf. iv. 85, 1 etc.

8. **τῆς τε Κορίνθου κ.τ.λ.**—‘both to ensure the neutrality of Corinth, and because they thought that the Athenians would thus have a shorter distance to bring forces from Aegina’. The construction in the clause with *τε* is slightly changed, and **ἴστεσθαι** depends on the sense supplied from **έδόκει**: so iii. 94, 3, *ἀναπειθεῖται Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπιθέσθαι, Ναυπάκτῳ τε πολεμίους οὐσι, καὶ...* *προσποίησεν*: iv. 3, 3, *τῷ δὲ διάφορὸν τι ἔδόκει, λιμένος τε προσόντος, καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους...ἴστεσθαι*. In all three instances two reasons are given in clauses with *τε* and *καὶ*, and the clause with *καὶ*, instead of corresponding to that with *τε*, is accommodated to the construction which would have followed the main verb.

Here **έδόκει** first means ‘seemed good’; then the idea of seeming only is carried on. We have the converse Eur. *Iph. T.* 279, *έδοξε δ' ἡμῶν εὖ λέγειν τοὺς πλείοντι, θηράν τε τῇ θεῷ σφάγια τάπιχωρια*, i.e. we decided to do so.

The Corinthians had taken a suspicious attitude, as we see from the end of ch. 48, and **βοήθειαν** means aid to the confederacy and Argos in particular.

10. **ἢ...περιπλεῖν**—so iv. 66, 3, *νομίζοντες ἐλάσσω σφίσι τὸν κίνδυνον ἢ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας κατελθεῖν*: vi. 60, 3, **βεβαιοτέραν σωτηρίαν...ἢ...ἐλθεῖν**. In these passages the infinitive is written, without any real construction, when a dative participle or verb with *ei* might be expected. So we might say, ‘it was a shorter distance to send aid than rounding Scyllaeum’. From Aegina to Epidaurus was a straight passage, and the distance by land to Argos was not great.

12. **διὰ τοῦ θύματος τὴν ξυπραξίαν**—‘for the sake of exacting the sacrifice’: **διὰ** is here used in the sense of **ἔνεκα**: see other passages in note on iv. 40, 2, *διὰ ἀχθηδόνα*. Dr Rutherford calls *διὰ ἀχθηδόνα* a late idiom betraying an adscript, but there seem enough instances to support it. For the order cf. i. 32, 2, *μετὰ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως*.

## CHAPTER LIV

3. **Λεῦκτρα**—besides the well-known Leuctra in Boeotia, there were two towns in Peloponnesus so called, one s.w. of Sparta, on the coast near the Messenian border, the other n.w. towards the district which afterwards belonged to Megalopolis; this latter is here meant. **Δύκαιον**—sc. ὅπος or *ιερόν*; the neuter adjective applying to either; ch. 16, 32.

6. **αἱ πόλεις**—the Laconian cities; the allies were summoned later on. **διαβατήρια**—sc. *ιερά*, the sacrifices for crossing the border; so ch. 116, 3. **προύχώρει**—‘proved favourable’; Xen. *Anab.* vi. 2, 21, *ἴσως ἀν τὰ ιερὰ προχωροίη ἡμῖν*. *γίγνεσθαι* is used in the same way, as in ch. 55, 17.

9. **μέλλοντα**—*μῆνα* would have been added but for the following parenthesis. **Καρνεῖος**—corresponding to Metageitnion at Athens; about August. The name was derived from the festival of Apollo Carneius. **ιερομήνια**—‘a sacred period’, neuter plural, referring to the whole month, in which there were two festivals besides the Carneia. Elsewhere we have the feminine singular, as in iii. 56, 2; and it is read here by Stahl, as ‘the neuter plural must come from an adjective *ιερομήνιος* which occurs nowhere, and Schol. Pind. *Nem.* iii. 4, uses *ιερομήνια* of the entire month’ (F.).

12. **τετράδιφθίνοντος**—apparently ‘on the fourth day from the end’, like *τετάρτη* ch. 19, 2: but see Lid. and Scott, *μήν*. **ἄγοντες**—‘keeping this day all the time’, i.e. calling every day that the expedition lasted the 27th of the month before Carneius. This explanation, now accepted by all, is due to Grote, who shows (ch. 56) that such tricks with the calendar were by no means unknown. Other explanations formerly suggested were ‘marching during this day’ or ‘though they always observed this day’ while *πάντα τὸν χρόνον* was diversely joined with *ἄγοντες* or *ἐσέβαλον* (v. 1. *ἐσέβαλλον*).

16. **τίνες οἱ μὲν**—not equivalent to *οἱ μὲν τίνες*, but *τίνες* is divided by apposition into *οἱ μὲν...οἱ δέ*: vii. 86, 4, *τίνες, ὡς ἐλέγετο, οἱ μὲν...ἄλλοι δέ*. Other allies, not included in *τίνες*, seem to have actually responded to the call of Epidaurus; ch. 55, 7. **ἡσύχαζον**—either not feeling strong enough to act independently, or deterred by the sacred season.

## CHAPTER LV

2. *ἐν τῷ—ἐν* may be *at* or *near*, as noted on iv. 5, 1, ὁ *στρατὸς ἐν ταῖς Αθίναις ὦν*: or ‘Epidaurus’ may mean the district, as it seems to do in ch. 77 and 80. *ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων*—from the cities of the league, and the half-neutral Corinth. *παρακαλεσάντων*—of summoning allies to a conference, as in ch. 17, 19.

6. *σφεῖς*—so iv. 114, 5, *τὰ πρότερα οὐ σφεῖς ἀδικεῖσθαι*: viii. 76, 4. The nominative is used when the speaker represents the entire body, and where *ἡμεῖς* would be emphatically expressed in direct speech: otherwise we have the accusative, as in ch. 65, 7: iv. 36, 1, *ἄλλως ἔφη πονεῖν σφᾶς*, = he said *ἄλλως πονοῦμεν*, where see note.

9. *ἀφ' ἕκατέρων*—probably to be taken with *Ἑλθόντας*, lit. ‘going from both sides’, i.e. by sending envoys from the partizans of Argos and Epidaurus (or Corinth) respectively. It is also possible to take it with *στρατόπεδα*, ‘to break up the armies from both sides’; for the position of *Ἑλθόντας* is not opposed to such a rendering. *οὗτο*=when this was done; ch. 38, 6.

11. *πεισθέντες ώχοντο*—the states are identified with their envoys, as in *Ἑλθόντας* before. *ἔσ τὸ αὐτό*—iii. 91, 2, *ἔσ τὸ αὐτὸ διπήντων*. *οὐδὲ ᾧς*—ch. 115, 7: so i. 44, 2, *καὶ ᾧς ἐσεσθαι*: iii. 33, 2, *εἰ καὶ ᾧς*.

16. *Καρύας*—on the road towards Tegea, north of Sparta. *οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα*—any more than at Leuctra, ch. 54, 7. *ώς τὸ τρίτον*—iv. 31, 2, *ώς τριάκοντα ὥπλῖται*.

21. *πυθόμενοι*—i.e. they had marched to aid Argos against a threatened invasion. The manuscripts have *πυθόμενοι δέ*, which would necessitate taking this clause with what follows, and either (1) giving to the perfect *ἔξεστρατεῦσθαι* the forced sense, ‘had ended their expedition’; or (2) adopting Poppe’s suggestion, that the Athenians had intended to help Argos, not against Spartan invasion, but in attacking Epidaurus, a design which was stopped by the movement of the Spartans. But *βοηθεῖν*, as Arnold points out on iv. 4, 3, would not be used of an offensive movement, unless it were subordinate to a scheme of defensive operations.

22. *καὶ οἱς*—so *καὶ* ch. 56, 22. If *πυθόμενοι δέ* were read we might compare ch. 44, 2, *ἀκούσαντες...καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν*.

**διήλθεν**—so ch. 50, 24. It has been suggested that Thucydides uses this expression here, instead of the more usual *τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα*, because of the inconclusive character of this summer's doings.

## CHAPTER LVI

3. **'Αγησιππίδαν**—probably the same as **'Ηγησιππίδας** ch. 52, 3. **ἐπεκάλουν**—of complaining, ch. 59, 29: iv. 23, 1, **ἀδικημα ἐπικαλέσαντες**.

6. **γεγραμμένον**—accusative absolute, like *εἰρημένον*, ch. 30, 10: *δεδογμένον* i. 125, 2. The clause in question is in ch. 47, 35; the Athenians, as masters of the sea, being thus held responsible for maintaining a blockade.

9. **τοὺς Μεσοτηνίους**—see ch. 35, 36. **ἀδικήσεσθαι**—passive future, as in vi. 87, 4: Eur. *Iph. A.* 1437 etc.: often in Dem.

11. **τῇ Λακωνικῇ στήλῃ**—see ch. 18, 62: ch. 23, 26. **ὑπέγραψαν**—'this was an intermediate step, to show that they did not renounce the treaty with Lacedaemon utterly. Had they done so, the monument on which the treaty was engraved would have been destroyed altogether: see Dem. *Megal.* 209, δεῖ τὰς στήλας καθελεῖν τὰς πρὸς Θηβαίους' (Arnold). *ὑπογράφω* is here used in the literal sense of subjoining or adding a note. In Dem. *Pantaen.* 973, *ὑπογράψας ἐπιβολεῦσαι με αὐτῷ* is usually mis-translated: it means 'after starting with the statement that I plotted against him', *ὑπό* being used as in *ὑπάρχω*, *ὑποτίθημι* etc. see note on iv. 4, 3. With the present passage Krüger compares Ar. *Lys.* 513, *τι βεβούλευται περὶ τῶν σπουδῶν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ παραγράψαι*;

13. **τοὺς ἐκ Κραντών**—see ch. 35, 6: for construction cf. such phrases as *οἱ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακοῦργοι*, i. 8, 2. **ληζεσθαι**—infinitive of purpose (Goodwin § 770): cf. vi. 50, 4, *δέκα τῶν νεῶν προσπεμψαν ἐσ τὸν λιμένα πλεῦσαι*. *ληζομαι* seems always middle in Thucydides: Classen accordingly reads *ἐληζοντο* for *ἐληζόν τε*, iv. 41, 2.

16. **ἐκ παρασκευῆς**—*ἐκ φανερᾶς παρατάξεως* (Schol.): cf. iv. 94, 1, *ψιλοὶ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ὠπλισμένοι*, 'regularly armed', *ὡς τύχοιεν*—the optative, like the following imperfect, denotes indefinite frequency.

19. πρὸς ἥπατηδη—ch. 17, 9. ὡς ἐρήμου—‘They expected that the forces of the Epidaurians would be dispersed over their whole territory in defending forts and strong positions, on account of the plundering warfare which the Argives were carrying on, and that the city would thus be left defenceless’ (Arnold).

## CHAPTER LVII

2. αὐτοῖς—‘seeing their allies’ etc.; ch. 3, 24. τάλλα—‘the other powers’ i.e. states: vi. 16, fin. Ηελοποννήσου τὰ δυνατώτατα: cf. ch. 59, 2. The construction which follows is resolved apposition, like ch. 54, 16. οὐ καλῶς—‘in an unsatisfactory state’, i.e. disaffected or disheartened.

5. προκαταλήψονται—without object expressed; so iii. 2, 3, εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψεται ἦδη: iii. 3, 2: iii. 46, 4, with δτῶς following. αὐτά—‘this’, i.e. the spirit of disaffection, ‘the evil would spread’ (Jowett): iv. 61, 4, etc. For the whole phrase, cf. Cic. *Att.* i. 13, 3, *vereor ne hoc quod infectum est serpat longius*.

10. στοι ἄλλοι—see ch. 67, 8. ἐς Φλιούντα—Phlius was in the north of Peloponnesus, nearly south of Sicyon. ἀμιτποι—Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5, 23, πεζοὶ ἀμιτποι. Foot-soldiers, armed with missiles, who accompanied the cavalry, and probably if necessary mounted their horses. ‘They seem to be the same sort of troops with the *ιπποδρόμοι ψιλοί* of Hdt. vii. 158. Their use is described by Caesar *B. G.* i. 48: *B. C.* iii. 84’ (Arnold). ίσοι—equal in number, as in iv. 1, 1, *Λοκρόδες ίσαι*.

15. ὡς ἔκαστοι—that is in such numbers as each could furnish; i. 3, 4, *οἱ ὡς ἔκαστοι Ἑλλῆνες*. The phrase is elliptical, a verb being in each case implied from the context. ἐν τῇ ἔκενων—the Phliasians, though just mentioned, are called ἔκενοι because apart from the Lacedaemonians, who are the main subject of the sentence; see note on iv. 37, 2.

## CHAPTER LVIII

1. προαισθόμενοι τό τε πρῶτον—answered by καὶ ἐπειδή, the participial construction being dropped in the second clause; ch. 44 begins with a similar sentence. ‘The Argives received

the first intimation of the intention of the Lacedaemonians from the preparations of their allies; afterwards their purpose was more distinctly revealed by the march of the troops to Phlius. **τότε δή** refers only to the clause beginning *καὶ ἐπειδή*. The sentence would have run more regularly, *προήσθοντό τε...καὶ ἐπειδή κ.τ.λ.*' (Jowett).

Classen prefers to read **τότε πρῶτον** and to omit *καὶ* before *ἐπειδή*. **τότε πρῶτον** then refers to the gathering of troops by the Spartans (ch. 57). This certainly simplifies the construction, but the sentence seems to lose its Thucydidean character, and the repetition **τότε πρῶτον...τότε δή** is awkward.

4. **προσμίξαι**—ch. 72, 8: also used of approaching an enemy (iv. 93, 1) : and of coming to close quarters (iv. 33, 2, etc.).

8. **Μεθυδρίω**—Methydrium lay to the west of Mantinea, beyond a mountain ridge. Arnold points out that the Spartans took a circuitous route to Phlius, to avoid the territory of Mantinea.

9. **καταλαμβάνουσι**—of taking up a military position; iv. 1, 1, note. **μεμονωμένοις**, as in ch. 8, 18, means 'without allies present', rather than 'deserted by allies'.

12. **ἀναστήσας**—iv. 93, 1, **ἀναστήσας ἦγε τὸν στρατόν.** **ἐπορεύετο**—began or continued his march. The route would be by Orchomenus to the north of Mantinea. Agis effected the junction with his allies, or at any rate opened communications with them, as we find the whole force after this acting in concert.

16. **τὴν κατὰ Νεμέαν ὁδόν**—the accusative seems not to be governed by *ἔχώρουν ἐs*, but rather to be explanatory of *ἡ προσεδέχοντο* and dependent on *καταβήσεσθαι*. **κατά**—'by way of'; as we should say, they took the Nemean road: vii. 80, 1, *ἡν ἡ ὁδὸς κατὰ τὸ ἔτερον μέρος τῆς Σικελίας*. Nemea was north of Argos, between Cleonae and Phlius.

17. **ταύτην**—ch. 10, 31: iii. 24, 1, **ἔχώρουν τὴν ἐs Θῆβας φέρουσαν ὁδόν.** The allied troops entered the enemy's territory in three divisions, two of which crossed the mountains into Argolis, while the third, with the cavalry, went northwards by the regular road to Nemea.

22. **ὅρθιον**—'steep'; with two terminations, as in Eur. *Hel.* 632. **ὅρθιον** has good manuscript authority, and possibly **ὅρθιοι** should be read; see ch. 58, 3, *ἡμέρας ἥδη*. **ἔτέραν** **ὅρθιον** however corresponds to *χαλεπήν*.

23. *εἴρητο*—so ch. 10, 36: iv. 77, 1, etc. Though the construction is passive, Agis is still the subject in sense, and accordingly *σφᾶς*=Agis' division.

## CHAPTER LIX

1. *διατάξας*—iv. 31, 2, *ώδε γὰρ διετετάχατο*: iv. 130, 3, *διατάσσει ὡς εἰς μάχην*, etc. The compound implies the assignment of different posts or duties.

2. *Σάμινθον*—unknown. For *ἄλλα* cf. ch. 57, 3, *τὰλλα*. Here however places, not states, are meant. *ἡμέρας ηδη*—so i. 30, 4, *χειμῶνος ηδη*: iii. 24, 3, *ἐπεὶ ηδη ημέρα ἐγένετο*. This gives some support to the reading *ὅρθροι*, ch. 58, 22.

7. *οὐ πολλῷ πλείους*—appositional, lit. ‘in a rather greater number’; so ch. 115, 4. *ἔχωρουν*—possibly=‘had been marching’ i.e. during the night; see note on ch. 50, 13: but perhaps simply ‘continued their march.’ They had taken the longer and more level road by Nemea. The tenses throughout, as in all military descriptions, are to be carefully watched.

10. *κατέλαβον*—‘found’, sc. there: in this sense, as Clasen points out, this verb is generally followed by a participle or some note of place. *καταβάντες*—sc. the Argives. They had marched down from Nemea at once, and were now getting into battle array.

13. *ἐν μέσῳ δέ*—on the south the Spartans under Agis occupied the plain, and cut them off from Argos; to the west the Corinthians occupied the mountain ridges, and threatened their flank; while from the north the Boeotian cavalry and the rest of that division were closing on their rear.

16. *τὸ δέ*—iv. 108, 1, *τὰ πρὸς Ἡέρα τηρουμένων*. *πρὸς Νεμέας*—iv. 100, 3, *τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτῶν ἄκρον*. *Ἐπποι δέ*—there was then no Peloponnesian cavalry on either side.

20. *οὐχ οὕτω*—as we say ‘not so great’=not very; so *non ita*: ii. 11, 6, *οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ἀδύνατον οὕτω πόλιν*. Such expressions are elliptical, at any rate originally. *ἐν καλῷ*—under favourable conditions, see ch. 46, 8.

22. ἀπειληφέναι—sc. αὐτοί: the construction reverts to the original subject, as if the clause with ἀλλά were a mere parenthesis, ἐνόμιζον or ἔδοκουν being supplied.

24. τῶν πέντε στρατηγῶν—seemingly corresponding to the πέντε λόχοι, ch. 72, 24. Arnold says these were not originally military but political divisions. The *strategi* at Argos, as at Athens, were probably the heads of the war department.

26. ὅσον οὐ—iv. 36, 1, ἐς τὸν ὅσον οὐ παρόντα πόλεμον. ξυνιόντων—iv. 94, 2, ἥδη μελλόντων ξυνιέναι. μὴ ποιεῖν μάχην—the active is used of the commander who orders or brings on the battle; so iv. 91, 2. μάχην ποιεῖσθαι is ‘to fight’, as in ch. 65, 20. In construction the infinitive depends on the sense of requesting implied in διελεγέσθη.

28. δίκασ...δοῦναι—see ch. 27, 14. ἐπικαλοῦσιν—i. 139, 2, ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦσι: iv. 133, 1, without dative of the person expressed: see ch. 83, 17.

## CHAPTER LX

1. οἱ μέν—answered by οἱ δέ, line 10. These particles mark the two main antithetical divisions of the chapter. On the one hand the Argive chiefs acted independently, and so did Agis in accepting their proposals; on the other hand the Lacedaemonians, though they obeyed Agis, were indignant at his conduct, and the Argives were no less enraged with Thrasylus and Alciphron.

2. τῶν Ἀργείων—partitive genitive dependent on οἱ ταῦτα εἰπόντες: cf. iii. 28, 2, οἱ δὲ πράξαντες μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῶν Μυτιληναίων. There seems no ground for taking τῶν Ἀργείων as dependent on ταῦτα, as Classen does; or for omitting the words, as others propose. They are in fact necessary to make the sense clear. ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν—‘of themselves’, on their own authority; iv. 68, 2, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης.

3. καὶ ὁ Ἀγίς—‘and Agis likewise’; this is a subordinate part of the main division under μέν. αὐτός—‘by himself’, on his own authority. οὐδέ—no more than the two Argives.

6. ἀλλ' η̄—‘except’; ch. 80, 8: iii. 71, 1, μηδετέρους δέχεσθαι ἀλλ' η̄ μαζὶ νηὶ ἡσυχάζοντας. κοινώσας—without an ex-

pressed object, as we say 'having communicated with': so iv. 2, 1, etc. *τῶν ἐν τέλει*—two ephors, besides other officials, accompanied the king on service. They are enumerated in Arnold's note. Classen suggests ξυστρατευομένω as a possible alteration for ξυστρατευομένων.

8. *ἴδει*—'they were to', as arranged with Agis. *τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων*—as opposed to the Lacedaemonians. *ἄλλος* is used, as in i. 128, 5, *κρύφα τὰν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων*, for the sake of sharper contrast. Krüger suggests *ξυναρχόντων* or *ξυμβούλων*, but no change seems required.

12. *ἐν αἰτίᾳ*—i. 35, 4, *ἐν πλείονι αἰτίᾳ ὑμᾶς ἔξομεν*: so infr. line 25. *παρατυχόν*—so i. 76, 2: line 29, *παρασχόν*. *αὐτῶν* means the Argives and their allies: it is a good instance of the sense of this word being gathered from the context. *ἀξιον*—so v. 34, 1, *ἀξια τῆς προσδοκίας*: vi. 21, 1, *ἀξιον τῆς διανοίας*.

16. *στρατόπεδον...ξυνήλθεν*—this clause resembles i. 1, 2, κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐγένετο: where Classen collects a number of similar sentences, e.g. i. 50, 2, *ναιμαχίᾳ γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς γεγένηται*. In these instances the pronoun (*τοῦτο*), which is the subject, is placed between the substantive (*στρατόπεδον*), which is appositional, and a superlative (*κάλλιστον*) which with the verb (*ξυνήλθεν*) forms the predicate. *Ἑλληνικόν* is appositional with a limiting force: the whole being equivalent to *τοῦτο κάλλιστον ήν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν στρατοπέδων ἀ μέχρι τοῦτο ξυνήλθεν*. The initial substantive from its position is in effect like a genitive plural (*στρατοπέδων*), introducing a general idea of which a particular case is to be described. Classen also cites a few variations from the regular arrangement.

17. *κάλλιστον τῶν*—see last note: so i. 1, 1, *ἀξιολογώτατος τῶν προγεγενημένων*, where Classen compares Tac. *Hist.* i. 50, *solus omnium ante se principum*. Milton imitates the construction: *Paradise Lost*, iv. 324,

Adam the goodliest of men since born  
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.

So *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. 1. 239,

This is the greatest error of all the rest.

This army was *κάλλιστον*, being composed of picked troops. Others may have been larger, for instance the force under Pausanias at Plataea.

18. ὥφθη—sc. κάλλιστον δν. ἀθρόον—apparently the whole force was collected at Nemea, after withdrawing from before Argos; or *ἐν* may simply mean ‘near’. The army then marched away by the regular Nemean road, and broke up. *ἐν* φ—when the divisions were united. The phrase refers to circumstances previously mentioned; iv. 18, 2, *ἐν* φ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ δμοῖς ὑπάρχει. Krüger renders it ‘at which point’, saying that *παρῆσαν* would be required if time were meant.

19. πανστρατιφ—both position and sense show that this belongs to the Lacedaemonians only, who had marched out πανδημεῖ: see ch. 57. The Phliasians, it is true, had called out their whole force, but here they are merely named in the general list of the allies, the rest of whom were represented by picked contingents. Those editors who refer πανστρατιφ to all the nominatives are obliged to render it ‘with all the troops they had in the field’; which is simply explaining the word away.

21. καὶ οὗτοι—‘these also being picked men’, in apposition to the preceding subjects. δξιόμαχοι δοκούντες—‘looking a match,’ rather than ‘thinking themselves’, cf. ὥφθη supra. καὶ ἄλλη—this is the manuscript reading, and represents ἀξιόμαχοι ἐδόκουν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλη ξυμμαχίᾳ προσγενομένη (=εἰ προσγένοιτο), which is perfectly good Greek and gives a satisfactory sense. Krüger however and others adopt καν̄ ἄλλη, on the ground that the idea represented is καὶ ἄλλη ἀν̄ ἀξιομάχοι ἐδόκουν εἶναι εἰ προσεγένετο. I cannot see that the alteration is necessary, or even desirable: cf. note on τειχισθέν, ch. 52, 17; and Goodwin § 213—217, for ἀν̄ with participles.

24. στρατόπεδον—followed by the plural; so i. 89, 3, ‘Αθηναῖων τὸ κοινόν...διεκομίζοντο: iii. 80, 1, ὁ δῆμος...ἡσαν ἐς λόγους. ἀνεχώρουν, like εἴποντο, line 11, denotes the beginning and continuance of the retreat.

26. καὶ αὐτοῖς—‘on their own part also’. καὶ ἔκεινοι—i.e. no less than the Lacedaemonians, with whom they are emphatically contrasted by the use of this pronoun; cf. iv. 73, 4, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι...ἡσύχαζον καὶ αὐτοὶ...λογιζόμενοι καὶ οἱ ἔκεινων στρατηγοί, where both αὐτοὶ and ἔκεινων refer to the Athenians. See also note on iv. 37, 2, παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοις ὥστε βουλεῦσαι δ τι ἀν̄ ἔκεινοις δοκῆ: and of Shilleto on i. 132, 3.

29. μὴ ἀν̄...παρασχόν—‘when they never could have had a better chance’; see Krüger on i. 76, 1, εὐ τσμεν μὴ ἀν̄ ἡσσον ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους: and note on ch. 49, 24. For ἀν̄ with a participle, see Goodwin § 41, 3: and for παρασχόν cf. ch. 14, 14.

33. *ἐν τῷ Χαράδρῳ*—the bed of a winter torrent, which flows close under the walls of Argos. ‘The military courts were held without the city, because within the walls the ordinary law, with its forms and privileges, would have resumed its authority... So also the Comitia Centuriata at Rome always met in the Campus Martius without the walls, because their original character and divisions were military’ (Arnold).

ib. *στρατεῖας*—most MSS have *στρατιᾶς*, the usual confusion. *περιγένεται*—‘saves his life’: Hdt. ix. 121, *ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διήκοσια περιγενόμενος*, ‘if my life be spared’.

## CHAPTER LXI

3. *Λάχης*—most probably the same who commanded the first expedition to Sicily (iii. 86, 1), and was superseded by Pythodorus. His name appears among the signatories to the treaty and alliance in ch. 19 and 24. Nicostratus was sent to Coreyra in 427 (iii. 75); was employed on the Laconian coast in 424 (iv. 53); and in the Macedonian expedition in 423 (iv. 129 sq.).

4. *ὅμως*—though indignant and disgusted at the arrangement made; cf. ch. 46, 4: iii. 28, 2, *ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς δῆμος καθίζουσι*, i.e. although terms had been promised.

7. *χρηματίσαι*—ch. 5, 3. *πρὸν ἦ*—Lid. and Scott say *πρὸν ἦ* ‘occurs here and there in Attic Greek, from which it is sometimes removed by correction: it is common in later Greek’. This, if right, is a solitary instance in Thucydides. Perhaps *πρὸν δή*, which is common, or *πρὸν οἱ* should be read. For *πρὸν* with the indicative, in the sense of ‘until’, referring to a definite past action, see i. 51, 1: ii. 65, 2, etc. It generally follows a negative (Goodwin § 634).

8. *Ἐτι γάρ*—ch. 58, 5. *πρεσβευτοῦ παρόντος*—‘being there in the capacity of envoy’; and no longer holding a military command. Stahl proposes *παρόντος* ‘coming forward’ to speak, but this is no improvement. The statement that Alcibiades was the representative of Athens implies that he was spokesman.

10. *Ἐν τε τοῖς*—= *ἐν τοῖς τε*. Classen considers *ταῦτα* unsatisfactory and reads *ταῦτά*, believing that separate assemblies

were held, which is also suggested by *τε* and *καὶ*. Most authorities suppose that the allies were merely present in the Argive assembly.

11. *οὐκ ὄρθως αἱ σπουδαῖ*—the influence of the ‘wrongful truce’, which stands first in order, is felt throughout the sentence, though the wording is modified in the second part. *ἄνευ*—so ch. 60, 28: iv. 78, 3, *ἄνευ τοῦ πάντων κοινοῦ*.

12. *καὶ γένοιντο*—probably *καὶ*, in the sense of ‘both’ connects this with *καὶ νῦν κ.τ.λ.*, the conjunctions coupling the two points on which the Athenians insist, the wrong already done them by the treaty, and the present obligation of immediate action. *καὶ* is then irregularly placed, as noted on ch. 16, 15, and stands where it does to emphasize the antithesis. Krüger however holds that *καὶ* simply emphasizes *γένοιντο*, the sense being that ‘even the making of the truce was a wrong’.

*ib.* *καὶ νῦν...χρῆναι*—the construction with *ὅτι* is now dropped, as in i. 87, 4, *ἔλεγον ὅτι δοκοῖεν...βούλεσθαι δέ*. *ἄπτεσθαι*—viii. 92, 4, *ἥπτοντο τῶν πραγμάτων*: so i. 49 fin. *ἔργου εἶχετο*.

14. *πείσαντες*—the subject at first is the Athenians alone, then by apposition it expands into *πάντες*: cf. iv. 69, 1, *γνόντες δὲ οἱ στρατηγοί...ἢ στρατία...ἀπεσταύρουν*: so in iv. 108, 3, *εἰωθότες οἱ ἀνθρώποι*, where certain particular colonists are the original subject of the sentence.

*ib.* *ἐκ τῶν λόγων*—F. compares two instances of *ἐκ* with *πείθω*, to denote the ground of persuasion; vii. 48, 3, *ἐκ τούτων αὐτοὺς πείσεσθαι*; viii. 47, 1, *πείσαι ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου*. Otherwise the meaning might be ‘after the conference’; see also ch. 113, 1.

15. *τὸν Ἀρκαδικόν*—as distinguished from Orchomenos in Boeotia, iii. 87, 4. *δμως καὶ πεισθέντες*—though convinced they still hung back: Krüger compares Soph. *Oed. Col.* 666, *δμως δὲ καμοῦ μὴ παρόντος...τούμὸν φυλάξει σ' ὄνομα*.

18. *προσκαθεζόμενοι*—the accusative construction is found with this word in i. 26, 5: i. 61, 2. The same participle occurs also in i. 11, 4: i. 126, 4: i. 134, 2; in each case with some tense of *πολιορκεῖν* or with a similar word. The form is aorist; see Veitch’s *Irregular Greek Verbs*.

20. *ἄλλως τε...καὶ ἤσαν*—Poppo says ‘noli *ὅτι* expectare’, and compares i. 110, 2, *τοῦτον δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τε τοῦ ἔλους οὐκ*

ἔδύναντο ἐλεῖν, καὶ ἄμα μαχιμώταροι εἰσὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ Ἐλεῖοι: vii. 47, 2, τῆς τε ὥρας ταύτης οὖσης...καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἄμα ἐλώδεις ἦν: so Tac. *Hist.* i. 76, penes Othonem manebant, non partium studio, sed erat grande momentum in nomine urbis. προσγενέσθαι—ch. 32, 11.

22. *κείμενοι*—here and in vi. 61, 3, *κείμει* does duty as the perfect passive of *κατατίθεσθαι*, the regular word for bestowing hostages. *δεῖσαντες*—see note on *δεδιώς*, ch. 8, 5. *πλῆθος* refers to the (small) force in Orchomenos; so iv. 10, 4, *ἀντιπόλους τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πλῆθει*.

24. *μὴ προαπόλωνται*—sc. before help arrived. The subjunctive depends on *δεῖσαντες* by a modification of construction. The clause with *ὡς* gives the reason of their alarm, ‘as they saw no prospect of succour’.

25. *ώστε*—iv. 46, 2, *ξινέβησαν ὥστε παραδοῖναι. Μαντινεῦσι*—‘the Mantineans, as the most powerful of the Arcadian allies, are given the charge of these Arcadian hostages’ (F).

## CHAPTER LXII

3. *ἴφ' δ τι χρή*—Classen collects instances to show that *χρή* is regularly thus used in reporting deliberation; e.g. i. 40, 5, *ἐψηφισμένων εἰ χρή αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν*: see ch. 63, 10. *ἰκελευον*—*λέται* is omitted, as with *ἐψηφίσαντο* infr.

6. *προσθέντο*—vi. 50, 1, *προσέθετο τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδου γνώμῃ*: so absolutely ‘to vote’ i. 20, 4, *μᾶς ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι*.

11. *Τεγεατῶν*—Classen follows Stahl in reading *τῶν* for (*Τεγεα*)*τῶν*, believing that the reading came from *Τεγέα*, a gloss on *πόλει*. *ἐνεδίδοσαν*—the imperfect denotes intention or arrangement; so iv. 76, 2, *Χαιρώνειαν ἄλλοι ἐνεδίδοσαν*. For the uses of *ἐνδοῦναι* see note on iv. 66, 2.

## CHAPTER LXIII

1. *Δακεδαιμόνιοι δέ*—see ch. 60, 12 and 25. This first sentence deals in a parenthetical way with the state of feel-

ing in Sparta before Orchomenos fell. οὗτος Ἀργούς—from the neighbourhood or district of Argos; the converse of the use of *εν* noted on ch. 55, 2. χειρωσάμενον σφίσιν—so iv. 28, fin.

4. παρασχόν καλῶς—ch. 60, 29: cf. 14, 14. This phrase would naturally be answered by ὡς οὕπω πρότερον, sc. παρέσχεν. Here however we have ὡς...ένόμιζον, sc. παρασχεῖν. The construction is somewhat harsh, and Krüger brackets αὐτοὶ ένόμιζον. It is also suggested to insert ὡς before αὐτοὶ. Note that οὕπω πρότερον with a relative occurs twice in this chapter, and in 64, 7.

7. λαβεῖν—‘to get’ or ‘find’, with ἀθρόους: like Hdt. i. 116, τὸν βουκόλον μόνον λαβών. Classen compares ch. 102, 2, and vi. 86, 3, δταν καιρὸν λάβωσι, but these instances are not analogous.

ib. ηγγέλλετο—the imperfects in this sentence are to be noticed, ‘when news of the capture of Orchomenos went on to arrive’, etc. For the explanatory infinitive ἔαλωκέναι cf. i. 50, 1, πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν: see Krüger’s Grammar § 61, 6, 8.

9. ἔβούλευον—for this use of the active where we might expect the middle, see note on iv. 15, 1. παρ τὸν τρόπον—they were usually slow and deliberate; see i. 132, 5, χρώμενοι τῷ τρόπῳ, φπερ εἰώθασιν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι περ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου βούλεῦσατ τι ἀνήκεστον.

11. δέκα μυριάσι—‘about £6700, supposing the sum to be given in Aeginetan drachmae’ (Jowett). For the dative cf. ii. 65, 2, ἔξημιλωσαν χρήμασι: so φυγῆ, iv. 65, 3.

12. ρύσεσθαι—‘atone for’ or ‘do away with’ is the sense required, and the scholiast explains ρύσεσθαι by ἀπολύσειν. It is suggested that it may have been the actual expression used by Agis. ρύομαι in Homer and Herodotus means to set free or redeem, e.g. from slavery, and the idea of retrieving a fault might thus come in. Poppo says that the word is found in later historians such as Diodorus and Herodian. Dobree proposed λύσεσθαι, comparing ἀπελύσαντο, ch. 75, 13, and similar phrases.

13. στρατευσάμενος—‘when he had taken the field’ i.e. if again placed at the head of an army. The best manuscripts have στρατευσόμενος, and some editors read στρατευόμενος. ή = ‘or else’; i. 78, 3, etc.

ib. ποιεῖν—‘let them do’, dependent on the sense (= ἔκελενε) supplied from παρηγένετο, or simply representing the direct

imperative: so iv. 50, 3, *πέμψατ*, 'they must send', appended to the account of a letter. The construction of the infinitive in treaties and laws is similar, e.g. *εἰναι* line 18.

15. *ἐπέσχον*—ch. 32, 28. *ἐν τῷ παρόντι*—we are not told how long the law remained in force, or if it applied to other commanders besides Agis. No further mention is made of such *ξύμβουλοι*, and Agis himself, when in command of the troops at Decelea, is found acting with full authority and independently of the home government; see especially viii. 5, 3; also ch. 66, 12.

17. *ξυμβούλους*—such commissioners are mentioned in ii. 85, 1: iii. 69, 1, and 76, 1, as appointed to assist Spartan naval commanders; and Plutarch (*Per. c. 22*) speaks of *ξύμβουλοι* being sent with the young Pleistoanax when he invaded Attica in 445. The idea therefore was not altogether new.

18. *εἶναι*—for the relative and infinitive in the report of a decree, cf. ii. 24, fin. *ἄν μή χρῆσθαι μηδεμίᾳ*: so Dem. *Lept.* 505, § 158, *ἴθηκεν ἐφ' οἷς ἔξειναι ἀποκτυνόνται* (Goodwin § 756). *ἀπάγειν*—i.e. he was not to begin any operations. As *ἀπάγειν* is generally used not of marching out from home (*ἔξαγειν*) but of withdrawing troops from an enemy's land, there is something to be said for Haase's conjecture *ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας* for *ἐκ τῆς πόλεως*. Can the last words be merely an explanatory gloss?

## CHAPTER LXIV

The Spartans now hear of the danger of Tegea, and realize at length that the leadership of Peloponnesus is at stake. They accordingly act with unusual promptitude and vigour.

8. *'Ορέσθειον*—this town gave name to the district of Oresthis; iv. 134, 1; where see note. Pausanias speaks of a founder Orestheus, but Eur. *Or.* 1647 gives *'Ορέστειον* from Orestes. *τῆς Μανιαλᾶς*—w. of Tegea and n.w. of Sparta.

9. *τοῖς μὲν Ἀρκάδων*—Krüger collects instances of this position of the partitive genitive in his note on i. 126, 5, *οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακήν*: so iv. 111, 2, *οἱ τῶν Τορωναίων ἐνδοθεν παρασκευάζοντες*.

10. ἀθροισθεῖσι—as this is closely connected with the infinitive *λέναι*, we should expect the accusative; but the practice of Thucydides is not invariable. Thus in vii. 20, 1, φέρητο... ἀφίκομένῳ παρακαλεῖν is followed by ερητο δ' αὐτῷ περιπλέοντα ξυστρατεύεσθαι: cf. i. 31, 2, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ὡς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι. In iv. 5, 1, ὄρμή ἐσπέπεσε περιστᾶσιν ἐκτειχίσαι, the connexion of the dative is ambiguous.

ib. κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν—‘to follow them closely’; iv. 126 fin. For αὐτῶν referring to the primary subject, see ch. 32, 26, note.

14. τὸ πρεσβύτερον—=οἱ πρεσβύτεροι: cf. i. 105, 5, οἱ τε πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι: ii. 13, 7, τοσοῦτοι ἐφύλασσον ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ νεωτάτων. Spartans were liable to serve abroad in emergency up to the age of 60, but in Athens men over 40 were usually exempt. See Müller's *Dorians*, Bk. iii. ch. 12.

20. τοῖς μέν—answered by the clause Δακεδαιμόνιοι δέ κ.τ.λ. ἐξ ὀλίγου—‘at short notice’; iv. 108, 5: ii. 11, 3, ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολέμων γίγνεται. The subject of ἐγίγνετο, ‘it came’, is implied in the context, as is common with εἰμι and γίγνομαι and with passives; see Krüger's *Grammar*, § 61. 5, 6.

21. μὴ ἀθρόοις—‘unless they waited for one another and came all together’ (Jowett). Poppe notices the combination of an adjective and a participle: so iii. 69, 1, χειμασθεῖσαι καὶ σποράδες.

22. τὴν πολεμίαν—the districts north of Tegea generally, which either belonged to Argos or had joined the confederacy.

ib. ξυνέκληγε—the object is implied in the context. The meaning is ‘it blocked their way’ or ‘closed them in’: further explained by διὰ μέσου, which denotes an ‘intervening’ obstacle: cf. Hdt. i. 104, ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου θυνος αὐτῶν ἐστι, i.e. between Media and Colchis, the countries spoken of. Krüger takes ξυνέκληγε in a quasi-intransitive sense as in ch. 72, 9, ‘it closed in’, i.e. was continuous. The scholiast explains it by ἀπέκλειε.

23. ἀναλαβόντες—ch. 7, 10. πρὸς τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ—on the road from Tegea to Mantinea. Grote says ‘the Lacedaemonian kings appear to have felt a sense of protection in encamping near a temple of Heracles, their heroic progenitor (see Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1, 31)’.

## CHAPTER LXV

2. καταλαβόντες—ch. 4, 15. The χωρίον ἐρυμνόν is said by Curtius to be the southern point of Alesium, a position of importance to Mantinea.

7. σφᾶς—see note on iv. 36, 1, ἀλλως ἔφη πονεῖν σφᾶς. κακὸν κακῷ λασθαι—Classen compares Hdt. iii. 53, μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν λῶ: Soph. Aj. 362, μὴ κακὸν κακῷ διδούς ἄκος πλέον τὸ πῆμα τῆς ἄτης τίθει: Plat. Protag. 340 D, λώμενος μεῖζον τὸ νόσημα ποιῶ.

8. δηλῶν—‘meaning that his present ill-timed forwardness was intended to retrieve the discredit incurred by his withdrawal from Argos’. δηλῶν here has the regular participial construction. For the infinitive see iv. 38, 1, δηλοῦντες προστεσθαι.

9. ἐπαιτίου—‘culpable’; more commonly used of persons who deserve or incur blame. ἀνάληψιν—lit. ‘taking back’ i.e. retrieval. The word only occurs here in Thucydides. The verb is sometimes used in this sense, e.g. Soph. Phil. 1249, τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἀναλαβεῖν πειράσομαι.

10. βούλομένην—agreeing with ἀνάληψιν: βούλομαι in this sense of ‘meaning’ or ‘professing to be’ is common in Plato and Aristotle; e.g. Rep. 595 C, οὐδὲ ξινοῶ τι βούλεται εἶναι. ἔθελω is similarly used. τοῦτο φρονεῖ, ch. 85. 6, is somewhat similar. Here Classen and Stahl read βούλόμενον, referring to Agis, the subject of διανοεῖται. The position of the word seems rather against the alteration.

11. εἴτε καὶ...εἴτε καὶ—so vi. 60, 2, εἴτε ἅρα καὶ τὰ δυτα μηνύσαι εἴτε καὶ οὐ: so ὡσπερ καὶ...οὖτω καὶ and the like. εἴτε καὶ—‘or because he himself changed his decision’; δέξαν is accusative absolute, as in viii. 79, 1: viii. 93, 1. Here it is personally constructed, with ἀλλο, which is rare without ὡς or ὡσπερ: see note on κυρωθέν δ' οὐδέν, iv. 125, 1; and Goodwin § 854. The words ή κατὰ τὸ αὐτό seem clumsy and unnecessary, but this is no proof that they are not genuine, and they are found in all the manuscripts. Stahl omits ή and refers κατὰ τὸ αὐτό to the same circumstance striking Agis and the veteran. ή καὶ τὸ αὐτό is another suggestion; while Dobree would omit the words altogether.

12. ἔξαίφνης—by some editors taken with δόξαν, by others with ἀπῆγε: the latter way seems to give a more forcible sense. It was the sudden change of tactics which surprised the Argives (line 23). κατὰ τάχος denotes the rapidity of the retreat.

14. πρὸς τὴν Τεγέατιν—i.e. at the border.—τὸῦ θδωρ—the plain of Mantinea, which was high level ground enclosed by mountains, had no outlet but by subterranean channels, such as are not uncommon in a lime-stone country. It is fully described in Arnold's interesting note.

ib. ἔξέτρεπεν—the imperfect here denotes the beginning of the operation, a little below its continuance.

15. τὰ πολλά—'mostly'. This leaves βλάπτοντος without an object: Poppe therefore suggests omitting τὰ, when πολλὰ βλάπτοντος would mean 'doing great damage'. With πολεμοῦσιν we might expect ἀεὶ or some such phrase.

17. τοὺς ἀπό—with καταβιβάσαι: he wished to draw from the hill those who were *on* it; ch. 34, 1. βοηθοῦντας ἐπὶ—predicate, 'to (stop) the turning of the water'. The participle is not equivalent to the future, but is used as in iv. 25, 9, κατέβαινον βοηθοῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους. The descent from the hill would be in itself the beginnning of the βοήθεια.

19. τοὺς Ἀργείους κ.τ.λ.—modern editors are disposed to omit these words as a mere explanatory gloss. Poppe however on i. 144, 2, gives several instances of similar apposition. They can scarcely be all interpolations, and are more probably due to the writer's mannerism; see note on iv. 114, 4. τὴν μάχην=the impending engagement: so iii. 105, 4.

21. μείνας—the aorist gives an 'end-view' (Clyde). Here, in combination with the imperfect, it either means 'after halting'; or it regards the day's operations as ended, in which case ἔξέτρεπεν = 'had been diverting'.

23. καταπλαγέντες—'astounded'. ἐξ ὀλίγου—usually of time, as in ch. 64, 20: ch. 72, 1. If this be the meaning here, αἰφνιδίω, which is absent from one manuscript, should be omitted as an explanatory gloss. ἐξ ὀλίγου however is used of space ii. 91, 3, πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὀλίγου ἀντεξόρμησιν, and may be so understood here. It will then correspond to μέχρι μὲν λίθου κ.τ.λ. line 5, while αἰφνιδίω answers to ἔξαίφνης and κατὰ τάχος in line 12.

24. *αὐτῶν*—the position of this word between *τῇ* and *ἀναχωρήσει* seems due to the intervening words; so iv. 55, 3, *παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφῶν ιδέαν*: see note on ch. 10, 48.

ib. *οὐκ εἶχον ὁ τι εἰκάσωσιν*—so ii. 52, 3, *οὐκ ἔχοντες ὁ τι γένουνται*. The deliberative subjunctive after a past tense, is a direct and vivid form of expression. *εἴτα* (without *δὲ*) answers to *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον*. Krüger suggested *ἔπειτα* as more in accordance with Thueydidean usage, e.g. viii. 67, 2.

25. *ἔπειδή*—note the tenses and the order of the words: *ἀναχωροῦντες* affects the whole sentence, though agreeing with *ἔκεινοι* only. ‘Then, when the retreat went on, and the Spartans disappeared, while they found themselves standing still and no pursuit attempted’.

25. *ἀπέκρυψαν*—‘disappeared’, apparently a neuter usage, *αὐτούς* being understood. This is the scholiast’s explanation, and it is supported by Hes. Fr. 44, *ἀποκρύπτοντοι Πελειάδες*, quoted by Lid. and Scott. This view is simpler than to understand *αἴροντος* or *Ἀργείοντος*, on the analogy of the nautical use found Plat. *Protog.* 338 A, *ἀποκρύψαντα γῆν* ‘losing sight of land’: Luc. *Ver. Hist.* 2. 38, *ἀπεκρύψαμεν αὐτούς*: Verg. *Aen.* iii. 291, *Phaeacum abscondimus arces*.

Besides, the point is that the Argives lost sight of the Spartans, not that the Spartans lost sight of the Argives.

26. *σφεῖς*—i.e. *αἴτοι*: rarely used, as Poppe notes, except in *oratio obliqua*, or with *ὅτι* in mixed constructions like line 31. Here indeed this clause, like the two which conclude the sentence, seems to represent in a sort of half-direct way the actual thoughts or words of the troops.

27. *ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶχον*—ch. 60, 12 etc. Here the ground of blame follows with an accusative and aorist infinitive; cf. vii. 81, 1, *ἐν αἰτίᾳ τὸν Γύλιππαν εἶχον...ἀφεῖναι*. Then the construction alters to *ὅτι* with the indicative, giving to some extent, as Classen points out, the effect of direct speech. The converse change from *ὅτι* to the infinitive is much more common: see ch. 61, 12.

ib. *τό τε πρότερον*—see ch. 60. The sense is ‘as formerly ... so now’: see note on ch. 43, 15. For *καλῶς* cf. ch. 36, 21: so *ἐν καλῷ* ch. 59, 21 etc.

29. *ὅτι*—according to Krüger, ‘because’; or else ‘that’; depending on ‘they complained’. In either case the irregular

transition to the present indicative has a striking and dramatic effect. *ἀποδιδράσκοντας*—a contemptuous word. *καθ' ήσυχιαν*—ironical, ‘quietly and comfortably’.

31. *ἐθορυβήθησαν*—‘were bewildered’ (Arnold); iii. 22, 6.

## CHAPTER LXVI

1. *οἵ τε Ἀργείοι*—answered by *οἵ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι*. *ἢν περιτύχωσι*—*τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις* (schol.). *πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον*—see the end of ch. 64.

5. *δι' δλίγου*=*ἐξαιφνῆς*, according to the scholiast: but plainly used here of an interval of space, ‘close at hand’; so ii. 89, 7 etc.: cf. iv. 14, 1, *διὰ βραχέος*.

7. *μάλιστα δή*—this abrupt beginning can scarcely be right, and some connecting word seems lost. *μάλιστα δέ* and *μάλιστα δὲ δή* are suggestions, but not satisfactory. Krüger proposes to connect the clause with what goes before, inserting *ὡς* before *ὅρῶσι* and putting a comma after *προεληνθότας*. But, as Poppe says, ‘coniectura et audacior est, et propter iteratum Lacedaemoniorum nomen displicet’. *ἔς δὲ μέμνηντο*—apparently ‘so far as they remembered’. The scholiast says *μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων μνήμην*, but where does the subject come from? The whole sentence indeed seems doubtful.

8. *ἐξεπλάγησαν*—the natural meaning is ‘were dismayed’, but this does not agree with what follows. On the contrary it is the excellent discipline and rapid formation of the Spartans which are described. *ἐκπλήσσω* is used not only of fear but of any overpowering emotion, such as joy or love. The meaning here may be were ‘excited’, ‘startled’ from their usual slow and deliberate ways, so that they acted with unwonted vigour and alacrity (*εὐθὺς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς*). *ἐκπλήξεις* certainly has some such force in iv. 14, 3, *ὑπὸ προθυμίας καὶ ἐκπλήξεως*: nor is there any idea of fear in *καταπλαγέντες*, ch. 65, 23. By this view we get a satisfactory sense; and it is at any rate better than any of the suggested alterations, e.g. *ἐξεφάνησαν*, ‘came out in their true colours’: *ἐξηλλάγησαν*, ‘were different from (surpassed) all others’: *Λακεδαιμονίοις...ἐξεπλάγησαν*, ‘they (the Argives) were struck with admiration of the Lacedaemonians’, and other desperate shifts. The passage seems however incomplete, and some words or lines may be missing.

9. διά—adverbially used with the genitive. The sense is either 'they had but short time to get ready', or 'they formed at once without delay'. ὑπὸ σπουδῆς—iii. 33, 4, ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἐποιέτο τὴν δίωξιν.

10. τὸν ἁυτῶν—emphatic: so iv. 33, 2, τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐμπειρίᾳ χρήσασθαι: iv. 55, 3, παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφῶν ἰδέαν τῇ παρασκευῆς.

11. ἔκαστα ἔξηγουμένου—iii. 55, 4, ἀ ἔκαστοι ἔξηγεῖσθε τοῖς ξυμμάχοις: iii. 93, 2, ἔστιν ἀ οὐ καλῶς ἔξηγούμενοι. ἀπ' ἔκεινου πάντα ἄρχεται—the passive ἄρχομαι is used of persons rather than things: πάντα may therefore have a personal meaning = 'all are under his orders', not 'everything is ordered'. Krüger suggests πάντα ἄρχονται 'they are entirely under his orders': and Dobree would read ἀπ' ἔκεινου, 'everything originates with him'.

We have seen (ch. 63 fin.) that Agis had been put under the restriction of a military council, while the Spartan kings generally were shackled in the exercise of their power. Thucydides therefore points out that they still had absolute authority on the field of battle.

13. τοῖς μὲν πολεμάρχοις—acting as generals of division. This is not the place to discuss the Spartan military organization, which is a rather complicated subject. Arnold and Grote have long notes on the present passage, and the recognized authorities are cited by Classen. See also Müller's *Dorians* Bk. iii. ch. 12.

14. φράξει—'orders'; iii. 15, 1, τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἔφραξον λέγατον—'what is to be done'; orders in general, before the battle begins. πεντηκοντήροις—found also Xen. *Anab.* iii. 4, 21: πεντηκοστήροις is another form.

17. παραγγέλσεις—orders 'passed along' the line, as opposed to those given by herald or sound of trumpet: Xen. *Anab.* iv. 1, 5, αναστάντες ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως: cf. ch. 58, 18: 71, 21. ταχεῖαι—adjective with verb; iv. 126, 6, τὸ ἀνδρεῖον δέξεις ἐνδείκνυνται: so with participle iv. 38, 3, ὁ τελευταῖος διαπλεύσας etc. ἐπέρχονται=traverse the line: Cobet proposes περιέρχονται.

18. σχεδόν τι—modifying πᾶν: iii. 68, 4, σχεδόν γάρ τι καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν: vii. 33, 2, σχεδόν γάρ τι πᾶσα. πλὴν ὀλίγου—this of course is not to be taken literally, as far the largest part of the army consisted of private soldiers. The meaning

is that the system of command within command extended throughout all ranks, and was peculiar to the Spartan organization. ‘In other Grecian armies orders were proclaimed to the troops in a loud voice by a herald, who received them personally from the general: each *taxis* or company had indeed its own *taxisarch*, but the latter did not receive his orders separately from the general, and seems to have had no personal responsibility for the execution of them by his soldiers’ (Grote, ch. 56).

20. *τὸ ἐπιμελές*—‘the charge of what is doing’; ch. 102, 4: see note on ch. 9, 14.

## CHAPTER LXVII

1. *τότε δέ*—‘on this occasion’, apodosis to the *general* description just given. *κέρας εὐώνυμον*—predicate. The article is omitted, as in line 12, and often. *αὐτοῖς*—ch. 44, 7: see note on ch. 3, 24.

2. *Σκιρῖται*—originally the inhabitants of the rugged district of Sciritis, on the northern border of Laconia. *δει ταύτην ... ἔχοντες*—this privilege is only recorded here, though the Sciritae always appear as a separate band. *ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν*—ii. 63, 2, *ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνομοι*: Hdt. ii. 2, *ἐπ' ἑωτῶν κέεσθαι*. Xen. An. ii. 4, 10, *αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχώρουν*. The preposition implies *rest on*, i.e. dependence, and so the phrase means ‘by themselves’, ‘independently’.

4. *παρὰ δ' αὐτοῖς*—‘by them stood’. *ἥσαν* is to be supplied rather than *καθίσταντο*: otherwise we should expect the accusative as in line 7. Poppe compares i. 48, 3, *τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν αἱ Μεγαρίδες νῆσοι εἶχον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι* (sc. *ἥσαν* or *ἔταξαντο*). He adds however that *ἐν* as well as *ἐπ'* apud similia verba collocandi et considendi reperitur’.

5. *ἐπὶ Θράκης*—the stock phrase for the ‘Thraceward’ regions seems here appropriated to Brasidas’ Thracian troops; see ch. 35, 11 and 25. Otherwise we might adopt the correction *ἀπό* (ch. 35, 33) or *ἐκ*. *νεοδαμώδεις*—ch. 34, 8.

6. *αὐτοὶ*—‘veri et proprii, qui discernuntur a superioribus hominibus, quos minus proprie Lacedaemonios nominaveris’ (Poppe). *Ἡραῖς*—from Heraea, in the valley of the Alpheus, near the borders of Triphylia. For *Μαινάλιοι* see ch. 64, 9.

9. ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ—'The Tegeatae claimed an honourable post in the Peloponnesian armies, from their services in the times of the invasion by the Heraclidae: see Hdt. ix. 26. But, to save the sovereign dignity of the Lacedaemonians, the most honourable post of all, the extreme right wing, was held by Lacedaemonian soldiers. A similar compliment was paid to the Athenians by the Acarnanians and their confederates at the battle of Olpae; iii. 107, 7' (Arnold).

10. ιππῆς—in 424 the Spartans set up a force of 400 horse παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός (iv. 55, 1). The cavalry was usually placed on the wings.

12. οἱ ἑναντίοι—appositionally resolved in the following clauses: i. 89 fin. οἰκιαι αἱ μὲν πολλαι...δλίγαι δέ. Krüger brackets the following αὐτοῖς, as not supported by Thucydidean usage. Note the omission of the article with δεξιὸν κέρας.

13. τὸ ἔργον—'the action'; iv. 34, 3 etc. παρὰ δ' αὐτούς—here, with ησαν, we might expect αὐτοῖς, as παρά with the accusative has the idea of motion to or extent along: cf. however vi. 57, 3, περιέτυχον τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ παρὰ (περὶ?) τὸ Λεωκόριον: Xen. Anab. iii. 4, 9, παρ' αὐτήν τὴν πόλιν ηγή πυραμίδες. Or we may say that previous motion is implied, as in iii. 3, 4, τριήρεις αἱ ἔτυχον παρὰ σφᾶς παροῦσαι: παρὰ τὴν ἔπαλξι κατακείμενος (Ar. Ach. 72) is 'extended along'. Krüger suggests omitting ησαν. Ἀρκάδων is partitive genitive, as in line 7: cf. ch. 37, 25.

15. λογάδες, οἱ ή πόλις—a regular force, selected from the wealthier classes, and strongly aristocratic in feeling. After this they helped the Spartans to overthrow the democratic constitution: see Arnold. ἐκ πολλοῦ—'from some time back'; i.e. they were kept in regular training: so ch. 69, 21.

18. Κλεωναῖοι—Cleone and Orneae lay northwards of Argolis, in the direction of Corinth. The inhabitants appear to have been at this time subject allies, and to have been afterwards absorbed by Argos. The authorities are fully discussed in Arnold.

20. οἱ οἰκεῖοι—the Argives had no cavalry force; ch. 15, 18.

## CHAPTER LXVIII

1. *ἥδε*—usually ‘as follows’; we should expect *αὕτη*: so *τοιάδε* is ‘as follows’, *τοιαῦτα* ‘as aforesaid’, but the practice is not invariable.

*ib.* **παρασκευή**—‘force’; in reference to the several contingents on either side. **τάξις** is their respective disposition in the opposing lines.

2. **μεῖζον ἐφάνη**—‘looked bigger’, i.e., as Classen says, its superiority struck the eye: so i. 8, 1, *Κάρες ἐφάνησαν*, ‘proved (were seen to be) Carians’.

4. **ἐκατέρων**—may depend either on *ἀριθμόν* or *ἐκάστους*: I think the latter. **ξύμπαντας**—governed by *γράψαι* and standing in apposition to *ἀριθμόν*, instead of being governed by it.

*ib.* **οὐκ ἀν ἐδυνάμην**—sc. *εἰ ἐπεχειροῦν* or *εἰ ἐβούλομην*: ‘unfulfilled condition’. Classen considers this construction here inadmissible, and follows Stahl in reading *οὐκ ἀν δυναίμην*, which is free from difficulty, but not necessarily what Thucydides wrote. Krüger points out that *ἐδυνάμην* without *ἀν* might give a statement of actual fact; cf. *ξυνέγραψε*, i. 1, 1.

7. **ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα πλήθη**—Krüger and others suspect *πλήθη*, and render *ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα* ‘in respect of their own affairs’ (generally). Whether *πλήθη* be retained or not *τὸ πλῆθος* is supplied as subject to *ἡγιστεῖτο*. Classen however reads *ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα*, *τὰ πλήθη*, ‘the several estimates of number were distrusted’. Note the *όμοιοτέλευτον* (*Ar. Rhet.* iii. 9, 9) *ἡγνοεῖτο...ἡπιστεῖτο*.

9. **παραγενόμενον**—‘brought into the field’. So in the orators *οἱ παρόντες* are literally ‘the (witnesses) present’, *οἱ παραγενόμενοι* ‘those called in’. **γάρ** ushers in the promised statement.

14. **ἴνγῳ**—‘rank’. Liddell and Scott give no other instance of this use in classical Greek.

*ib.* **ἐπὶ δὲ βάθος...όκτω**—this statement is puzzling and is discussed at length by Grote and others. It may mean, as Jowett suggests, that in some cases one part of the line was deepened at the expense of another, and the rear rank of one

*éνωμορία* posted behind another. Or possibly the ranks behind the first did not invariably contain four men. Thus an arrangement of 4, 3, 4 etc. would give 9 rows amounting to 32 men in all. But we must remember that Thucydides is not so much discussing the order of the Spartan soldiers, as furnishing an estimate of their numbers. He 'could not do this exactly', but he guarantees three things, the number of *éνωμορίαι*, viz. 112; the number of men, 448, in the front rank; and the average (*ἐπὶ πᾶν*) depth, viz. 8. Now, if the number of men in each *éνωμορία* was the same, we have not merely an approximate calculation, but an exact one, the very thing which Thucydides disclaims. May it not then have been the case that, in one or more of the *λόχοι*, the *ένωμορίαι* consisted of a number more or less than the standard 32? This would be a part of the 'system of secrecy' (*τῆς τολμητείας τὸ κρυπτόν*); and if it was privately managed by the military authorities we can see at once how the total number was 'kept dark' (*ήγνοεῖτο*). According to the text this arrangement was left to the respective *λοχαγοί*; but it may be that the clause *ἄλλ' ὡς λοχαγὸς ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο* is spurious, as Dobree suspected. The *ένωμορία* or 'section', which was 'the unit of the Spartan army', undoubtedly varied in size at different periods; and may possibly have varied in different *λόχοι* or 'regiments' at the same period.

This explanation seems not unreasonable; for if Thucydides had been sure of the number of men in each *ένωμορία*, why did he not state it, instead of only giving the number in the front rank?

16. *ἐπὶ πᾶν*—'generally'; ii. 51, 1, *τοιοῦτον ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὴν ιδέαν* (several examples in Krüger). *ἐπὶ ὀκτώ*—'eight deep'. In this sense *ἐπὶ* takes either the genitive or accusative: vii. 79, 1, *οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγων ἀσπιδῶν*, 'in a deep column': iv. 93, 4, *ἐπ' ἀσπιδας πέντε καὶ εκοσι Θηβαῖοι ἐτάξαντο*.

ib. *παρὰ ἄπαν*—'along the whole line'. A front of 448 men with an average depth of eight, 600 Sciritae being added, makes the Lacedaemonian division 4184 strong. *ἡν*—Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 1, 25, *ἡ τάξις ἦν ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες*: Prop. v. 1, 14, centum illi in prato saepe senatus erat.

## CHAPTER LXIX

2. **παραινέσεις**—the usual addresses which Greek soldiers expected before an engagement: cf. iv. 95, 1, δι' δλίγου ἡ παραινεσίς γίγνεται: iv. 93, 1, τοιαῦτα παραινέσας. **παρακέλευσις** and **παρακελεύεσθαι** are used in the same way.

5. **καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς ἄμα**—‘and withal for empire or subjection’. The following explanatory infinitives are connected with ἡ μάχη ἔσται, as in ii. 89, 10, ὁ ἀγών μέγας ἡ καταλύσαι...ἡ καταστῆσαι.

*ib.* **πειρασαμένοις**—‘after once enjoying it’, i.e. after once gaining the position of a sovereign state; see ch. 29. The alternative was sinking again into political subordination to Sparta. For the dative we might expect **πειρασαμένους**: but see note on ch. 64, 10.

7. **Ἄργειοις δέ**—sc. **παραινεσίς** ἐγίγνετο: the construction with **ὑπέρ**, and the following infinitives, being connected with this rather than with **ἡ μάχη ἔσται**. **τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις...ἔιναι**, line 11, depends on the same.

*ib.* **τῆς παλαιᾶς ἡγεμονίας**—under the Atreidae. The claim of **Ισομοιρία** was made in the days of the Persian invasion: see Hdt. vii. 148, where the Argives were willing to join Sparta, ἡγεμονοι κατὰ τὸ ημισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίης· καίτοι κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἐωντῶν, ἀλλ' ὅμως σφίσιν ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ημισυ ἡγεμόνεοισι.

8. **διὰ παντός**—‘always’: iv. 61, 4, **πέφυκε τὸ ἀνθρώπειον διὰ παντὸς ἄρχειν τοῦ εἰκοντος**: so i. 38, 1. **ἀστυγείτονας**—cf. iv. 92, 3, **Ἀθηναῖοις δέ καὶ προσέτι ὄμδρους ὄντας πολλῷ μάλιστα (ἀμύνεσθαι) δεῖ**: vi. 88, 1, **τοῖς Συρακοσίοις ἀεὶ κατὰ τὸ δύμορον διάφοροι**. The aorist **διμύνασθαι** implies ‘once for all’, that is, in the coming battle.

13. **καὶ ὅτι**—The sentence now takes a sort of semi-direct form of expression. **ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ**—thus turning the tables on the Spartans; hitherto the Athenians had only attacked the enemy’s coast.

15. **οὐ μή**—this strong negative occurs only in one other passage, iv. 95, 2, where Hippocrates addresses the Athenians in

much the same words; ἦν νικήσωμεν οὐ μή ποτε ὑμῖν Πελοποννήσοις ἐσ τὴν χώραν...έσβαλωσιν. There is the same ethical dative in both sentences, *αὐτοῖς* = 'they would have them'.

18. *καθ' ἑκάστους*—usually taken of the Lacedaemonian soldiers exhorting one another 'man by man'. Herbst and Classen however seem right in understanding the plural, as in ch. 68, 4, rather of the 'several contingents' of the army, who are all included under the name of Lacedaemonians, as they are in the beginning of the next chapter. The main construction of the sentence belongs to the divisions with *τε* and *καὶ* alike, while *μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων* is specially connected with *ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς*, the Lacedaemonians themselves.

iib. *πολεμικῶν νόμων*—war-songs, according to the scholiast; *τὰ ἀσματα ἀπέρ γέδον οἱ λακεδαιμόνιοι μέλλοντες μάχεσθαι*. Krüger however takes the meaning to be 'military usages', on the ground that the war-songs would not come in till the actual onset.

19. *Ἄντι τίπισταντο κ.τ.λ.*—'called on their trusty comrades to remember what they knew so well' = *παρεκελεύοντο μεμνῆσθαι*. *ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν* is taken by Poppo and others as agreeing with *σφίσιν αὐτοῖς*. It seems however rather governed by *τὴν παρεκελευσιν ἐποιοῦντο*: and is a sort of semi-quotation, representing *παρεκελευθερά ὑμῖν ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν*.

Some editors however find a difficulty in the words, and sundry unsatisfactory suggestions and emendations are noted in Classen and Fowler.

Arnold compares with the present passage iv. 95, 1, *ἢ παραίνεσις...πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας...ὑπόμνησιν μᾶλλον ἔχει ἢ ἐπικελευσιν*: so vi. 68, 4, *τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν ἀξιας μησθέντες ἐπέλθετε τοῖς ἐναντίοις*.

20. *εἰδότες ἔργων...παραίνεσιν*—note the triple antithesis in this sentence. For *ἐκ πολλοῦ* cf. ch. 67, 15.

## CHAPTER LXX

2. *ἡ ξύνοδος ἦν, Ἀργεῖοι*—construction in accordance with the sense (*πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον*): cf. iv. 23, 2, *τὰ περὶ Πύλον ἐπολεμεῖτο, Ἀθηναῖοι μέν κ.τ.λ.* Poppo adds Tac. *Hist. i. 19*, *patrum favor aderat, multi etc.*

3. ἐντόνως—only here in Thucydides, who does not use the adjective at all: Xen. *Anab.* vii. 5, 7, ἐντόνως ἀπήγει τὸν μισθόν. ὁργῇ—vii. 68, 1, ὁργῇ προσμίξωμεν. Jowett renders ‘with great fury and determination’.

4. ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν—‘to the accompaniment of many flute-players stationed in the ranks according to custom’: cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2, 23, τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπὸ αὐλητρίδων: see also Liddell and Scott for the general use of the preposition to denote anything attendant. For νόμῳ the best manuscripts have νόμου, and two have δμοῦ. νόμου may be retained in the sense of *tune* (see ch. 68, 18) as governed by ὑπό: but ἐγκαθεστώτων would thus stand rather awkwardly by itself. Arnold cites Hdt. vi. 60, to show that the flute-players were a separate caste in Sparta as they were in Egypt.

5. οὐ τοῦ θείου χάριν—the editors quote A. Gellius i. 2, 1, non prorsus ex aliquo ritu religionum neque rei divinae gratia. ὅπερ φιλεῖ—iv. 125, 1, ὅπερ φιλεῖ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα...ἐκπλήγυνθαι. Classen points out (i. 78, 2) that Thucydides always uses φιλεῖν in this sense, in which it occurs more than a dozen times. He adds that it is only used once by Herodotus (v. 5) in the sense of loving, elsewhere of being wont, as here. For ποιεῖν we might expect πάσχειν: so in line 2 of the next chapter. Poppe cites (from Duker) Ar. *Plut.* 1204, πολὺ τῶν ἀλλων χυτρῶν ταναντία αὗται ποιοῦσι.

## CHAPTER LXXI

1. τοιόνδε—the explanation is given in line 16, δεῖσας δὲ Ἀγις, the construction beginning afresh with καὶ τότε after the parenthetical introduction. Otherwise the words would run τοιόνδε ἔβουλεύσατο δρᾶσαι· δεῖσας μή κ.τ.λ. We have a similar sentence in iv. 67, 2, οἱ προδιδόντες τοιόνδε ἐποίησαν· ἀκάτιον... εἰώθεσαν κατακομίζειν...καὶ τότε: cf. vi. 88, 1, οἱ Καμαραῖοι ἐπεπόνθεσαν τοιόνδε· τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι εἴνοι ήσαν. So Hdt. i. 80, ἐποίησε τοιόνδε· ὅσαι κ.τ.λ.: cf. Xen. *Anab.* v. 4, 31, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τοιάδε ἦν τῶν χωρίων· ἀπείχον· Other instances of ‘asyndeton’ are cited by Kühner on Xen. *Anab.* iv. 7, 10, μηχανᾶται τι· προέτρεχεν κ.τ.λ.

2. ἔβουλεύσατο—‘decided’; ii. 74, 1: iv. 57, 4. Sudden change of purpose at a crisis was characteristic of Agis; see ch. 60 and 65.

ib. ποιεῖ μέν—this would be regularly answered by τότε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μαντίνης, but the construction is dropped. καὶ ἄπαντα—‘all without exception do this’; iv. 23, 3, τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἄπασαι περιώρμουν. τοῦτο—explained by what follows without a connecting word: so vi. 36, 2, αἱ ἀγγελίαι τοῦτο δύνανται· οὐκ ἀπὸ ταύτωνάτοις...ξύγκεινται: cf. ii. 36, 4, δὲ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε...ἀφίεσθε: vi. 11, 4, δτερ νῦν ὑμεῖς πεπόνθατε...ἐφίεσθε: Xen. Cyr. ii. 3, 4, οὗτω πws ἐποίησε...δίδωσι: cf. note on line 1.

3. αὐτῶν—the position of αὐτῶν is due to the insertion of δεξιόν, otherwise τὰ αὐτῶν κέρατα is the regular order, as in line 24: cf. iv. 43, 3, τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρα ἐαυτῶν.

As a general principle the genitive of a personal pronoun and αὐτοῦ stands after the substantive on which it depends, or before the article; while the genitive of reflexive and demonstrative pronouns follows the article. Thus we have ἡ γλώσσα σου, καλαὶ νῦν αἱ γυναῖκες, ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ: but φύλαττε τὸν σαυτοῦ τρόπον, ἐς κόσμον τὸν ἐαυτῶν, ὁ τούτου πατὴρ, ἡ ἀλλήλων δικαιοσύνη. There are however instances where this usage is disregarded for the sake of emphasis or otherwise. Thus, ἀνεπικούρητον σεαυτοῦ τὸν βίον λήση τοιῶν, where σεαυτοῦ has a force like that of an ethical dative. Again, with an additional word the position of αὐτοῦ may be changed, γνώσεσθε τὴν ἀλλῆλων αὐτοῦ τοιηριαν, an exact converse of the present passage: so iv. 55, 3, παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχονταν σφῶν ἰδέαν: cf. ch. 43, 14.

Full illustrations of all these usages may be found in Krüger's Grammar § 47, 9, 9—20: see also Madvig's *Greek Syntax*, § 10. It should be noticed that Krüger says that αὐτοῦ (αὐτῶν) when it means *ipsius* is placed next the article like ἐαυτοῦ etc. In such cases however αὐτοῦ is now generally read; see note on ch. 10, 48. These constructions are not to be confounded with the partitive genitive, such as οἱ πλειστοι αὐτῶν (iv. 43, 2).

ib. ἐν ταῖς ξυνόδοις—when closing with the enemy; iii. 107, 3, ἐν τῇ ξυνόδῳ αὐτῇ. ξεωθεῖται—‘thrust outwards’ (Jowett) (mid.), or ‘are forced out’ of the proper line, which is thus unduly extended towards the right.

4. περισχουσι—‘extend beyond’, ‘overlap’, or ‘outflank’; iii. 107, 3, περέσχε τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατόπεδον (nom.); with this verb may be joined a dative of the instrument; ib. fin. περιέσχον τῷ κέρᾳ, ‘with their wing’. κατά—‘opposite to’.

6. προστέλλειν...τῇ...δοσπίδῃ—either (1) ‘shelter with’, or (2) ‘move up to, the shield of the man next on the right’.

Liddell and Scott are in favour of (1); Poppo and Krüger of (2). Poppo cites Dio Cas. XL. 23, 3, *τὰς τῶν παραστατῶν ἀσπῖσι τὰς γυμνώσεις σφῶν προστέλλειν*, which is equally ambiguous. Classen reads *προστέλλειν* in sense (2) maintaining that this form is required for the construction and meaning.

*ib.* *τὰ γυμνά*—as in ch. 10. 20, the right arm and side which were not covered by the shield. *καὶ νομίζειν*—‘and because they think that this closeness of locking up gives the best shelter’. *εὐσκεπταστότατον* is probably neuter, in accordance with a common construction; it may possibly be feminine, as in ch. 110, 3: iii. 101, 2, *ταύτη δυσεσβολώτατος ἡ Λοκρίς*. In iii. 89 (fin.) *βιαιωτέρον τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν ποιεῖν* is ambiguous. *εὐσκέπταστος* is found in Dio Cas. 49. 30, but not elsewhere in classical Greek: *σκεπάζω* is used by Xenophon; see *σκέπτας*.

9. *ἡγεῖται τῆς αἰτίας*—lit. ‘begins this fault’, *αἰτία* being ground or cause of blame. *πρωτοστάτης*—as we say, ‘the pivot-man’: *οἱ πρωτοστάται* in Xen. are the front-rank men. *ἔξαλλάσσειν*—‘to withdraw from the enemy’.

12. *γύμνωσιν*—this unusual word, which is active in form, may mean the side ‘which he exposes’ or ‘finds himself exposing’; or it may be simply a convenient singular, the plural *τὰ γυμνά* being elsewhere used. We use such words as enclosure in a similar passive way. It is copied by Dio, as cited above.

13. *καὶ τότε*—‘and so now’, resuming the particular description after a general digression; so iv. 67, 5: vii. 29, 4. *τότε δὲ οὖν* is used somewhat in the same way.

*ib.* *περιέσχον...τῶν Σκιριτῶν*—‘overlapped the Sciritae with their wing’. *περιέχω*, which elsewhere takes the accusative when it means to surround, is here constructed like *περιγγομαι*. The datives in line 6 and iii. 107 (fin.) seem decisive as to the construction. Haack however suggested *τὸ κέρας* and *τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναλων*.

16. *δείσας...νομίσας*—the aorist implies a sudden thought, as in ch. 65. 12. *σφῶν=our*: iv. 9, 2, note. The position gives the word an emphatic force=‘lest he should have his left surrounded’.

19. *ἐστήμηνεν*—of military orders; ii. 84, 1, *πρὶν ἀν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ*: with infinitive in the general sense of directing, Hdt.

v. 35, σημαίνοντα ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέως. The order given by Agis was 'extend away from us, and present an equal front to the Mantineans'. In ἐπεξαγαγόντας, ἐπὶ implies motion not towards the enemy, but to the new position required; while ἐξ denotes leaving their original post, or opening out the line: so of ships, vii. 52, 2, ἐπεξαγαγόντα πρὸς τὴν γῆν: viii. 104, 3, ἀντεπεξῆγον: πανσάμενοι τῆς ἐπεξαγωγῆς. All of these are flank movements to surround the enemy.

20. ξισώσαι—'to present an equal front to the Mantineans'. τὸ εὐάνυμον may be the object; or ξισώσαι may be quasi-intransitive, as in vi. 87, 5, ξισώσαντες τοῖς ἄλλοις, 'acting like the rest of the world', lit. 'making things (or the matter in hand) equal': cf. Soph. *El.* 1194, μητρὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔξισον. Here τὴν τάξιν, or έαυτούς, or 'the state of things', would be implied.

We have seen (ch. 67, 1) that the Sciritae were entitled to the left, and 'among the Lacedaemonians especially ancient routine was more valued than elsewhere' (Grote). Hence it was impossible to order round a division from the extreme right to the extreme left, and apparently impracticable to move the whole line more to the left. We do not know the nature of the ground.

ib. ἐς τὸ διάκενον τοῦτο—put emphatically first, 'to fill up this gap'; for the word cf. ch. 72. 16: iv. 135, 1. παρήγγελλεν—'consecutio verborum haec est: παρήγγελλεν τῶν πολεμάρχων' Ιππονοίδης καὶ Ἀριστοκλεῖ παρελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐς τὸ διάκενον τοῦτο ἔχοντι δύο λόχους. Lochos autem duos duo polemarchi aut ideo adducere iussi sunt quod lochi Thucydidei moris Xenophontis sunt similes, aut quod in graviore negotio vel tempore difficiliore etiam minores partes militum a maioribus ducibus adversus hostes ducendae videntur' (Poppo).

21. τῶν πολεμάρχων—partitive genitive depending immediately on the proper names; i. 24, 1, Φάλιος Κορίνθιος τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους: i. 126, 2, Κύλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος τῶν πάλαι. Aristocles may be the brother of king Pleistoanax mentioned ch. 16, 26. For the position of ἔχοντι Krüger compares iii. 26, 1, δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν ἔχοντα Ἀλκίδαν.

23. ἐσβαλόντας—'closing in', 'throwing (themselves) in', *ingressos*; an unusual sense of the word. πληρώσαι—sc. αὐτό. βεβαιότερον—as the flank could not now be turned.

## CHAPTER LXXII

1. ἐξ ὀλίγου—‘at short notice’; ch. 64, 20: iv. 108, 5. τόν τε—answered by καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, the clause ἀλλὰ καὶ... being parenthetical in sense, though conforming to the general construction after ξυνέβη. Arnold compares i. 95, 3, ξυνέβη τε αὐτῷ καλεῖσθαι τε ἄμα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους...μετατάξασθαι, where αὐτῷ applies only to the first clause.

5. δόξαντας—‘held guilty’; cf. the use of *videor*. Whether banishment was inflicted as a punishment, or punishment escaped by voluntary exile, is not clear. The latter view is the more probable: see Müller's *Dorians*, Bk. iii. ch. 11 § 4. Thus Xenophon's Clearchus was an exile, after having been condemned to death for disobedience to the military orders of the Ephors (*Anab.* ii. 6, 4).

ib. φθάσαι τῇ προσμίξει—‘were beforehand in closing with them’, i.e. before the line was restored to proper order. *προσμίξει* is a sort of instrumental dative. Krüger indeed considers the construction so unusual that he believes that the two words may be an explanatory gloss; their omission however would be fatal to the rhythm of the clause.

6. καὶ κελεύσαντος—‘and when, on the lochi not coming up to the Sciritae, he gave the order (to the Sciritae), close up again to us, he found that (ξυνέβη αὐτῷ) they too were now unable to close in’. This is the explanation adopted by Poppo and is indeed the only one which the wording and sense permit; for *κελεύειν ἐπί* would not be an admissible construction. The position of *ἐπί τοὺς Σκιρίτας* is no doubt awkward, but may be intended to show emphatically that *κελεύσαντος* refers to the Sciritae. Classen gives other instances of conjunctions placed like *ὡς* here, e.g. iv. 27, 1, *πυνθανόμενοι...σῆτος τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ὅτι ἐσπλεῖ*. It is however tempting to suggest the omission of *ἐπί* (or the substitution of *ἔπι*), governing *τοὺς Σκιρίτας* directly by *κελεύσαντος*.

8. ἔτι—‘now’ or ‘after this’, i.e. there was now no time left. μηδὲ—i.e. they as well as the λόχοι failed to fill up the gap. τούτοις—the Sciritae, who were unable to regain their old position. It is altered into *τούτοις* by Classen, who unaccountably takes *λόχοι* as the subject of *προσμίξει* and *ξυγκλήσαι*, and understands *τούτοις* of Agis and his troops

(σφίσι). He supposes that the λόχοι had made an ineffectual attempt to reach the Sciritae and now failed to regain their position on the right. This however is quite contrary to Thucydides, who says plainly enough that the commanders of the λόχοι refused to move at all, and were therefore exiled for cowardice.

9. ξυγκλήσαι—‘to close in’ or ‘close up (the ranks)’; virtually intransitive; as in iv. 35, 1: see ch. 64, 22.

ib. μάλιστα δή—cf. ch. 66, 7. The run of the words seems to show that this applies to the whole of the sentence, while κατὰ πάντα extends to ἐλασσωθέντες only, and τότε emphasizes the final clause. The sweeping expression κατὰ πάντα appears to point out the ‘entire failure’ of the movements which Agis had ordered; a failure which was redeemed by no less signal valour and steadiness in the actual encounter.

ib. τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ—skill in manœuvring in the field, in which both Agis and his subordinates proved deficient: cf. ii. 89, 2, διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἐμπειρίᾳ: iv. 33, 2, τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐμπειρίᾳ χρήσασθαι. The dative with ἐλασσωθέντες means ‘worsted’ or rather ‘proving inferior in skill’. F. compares Plat. *Alc.* i. 121 b, ὅρα μὴ τῷ τε γένους ὄγκῳ ἐλαττώμεθα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τροφῇ, and Xen. *Hel.* vi. 2, 28, μεγάλη ἡνία ἦν τὸ τε ἐλαττοῦσθαι τᾶσι τούτοις. There is therefore no reason for spoiling the sentence by adopting such corrections as ἀπορίᾳ or ἀραξίᾳ, or by omitting ἐλασσωθέντες with Madvig, who translates ‘Lacedaemonii, qui semper arte, tum non minus virtute se praestare ostenderunt’, a rendering which seems to introduce an idea foreign to the sense of the present passage.

The dative indeed seems naturally used with words denoting superiority or the opposite, and comparison generally; cf. vincere Caecilius gravitate Terentius arte (Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 58).

10. τῇ ἀνδρίᾳ...περιγενόμενοι—‘proved their superiority in valour’, or ‘showed that they gained the victory by their valour’: cf. iv. 73, 2, ἔδειχαν ἔτοιμοι ὤντες ἀμύνεσθαι. Poppe suggests περιγιγνόμενοι or ἀν περιγιγνόμενοι as having a general force, but the text seems to give a preferable sense.

11. ἐπειδὴ γάρ—γάρ brings in the expected account. For ἐν χερσὶ cf. ch. 10, 56. The phrase is found with ὄντες, iii. 108, 1: with γενόμενοι vii. 5, 2; but I have not found a parallel to the present dative construction.

12. τὸ μέν—like the resumptive ταύτη μέν below, answered by τῷ δ' ἄλλῳ = ‘though...yet’. αὐτῶν—ch. 15, 5. For its position Classen compares i. 30, 3, ἐπει σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν: see also ch. 71, 17.

15. οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες—see ch. 67, 15. The imperfect διέφθειρον ‘inflicted loss’ is used in combination with aorists, as in iii. 98, 2, to denote what was begun or what lasted some little time. ἔξεωσαν—‘drove back’ out of their line and position. ἐπιτεταγμένων—‘posted in charge’ or ‘in reserve’; so ἐπίτακτοι vi. 67, 1.

23. καλούμενοι—Hdt. viii. 124, τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οὕπερ ιπτέες καλέονται. They were the king's body-guard, and though called horsemen fought on foot. Arnold supposes that they were originally chiefs who fought round their king in chariots, ‘this being the early sense of ιπτέες and ιππότης, as we find from Homer’. The actual cavalry were stationed on the wings as we learn from ch. 67.

24. πέντε λόχοις ὀνομασμένοις—nothing is known of these divisions. ‘We can only suppose that Argos originally, like Sparta and Messenia, contained five districts or quarters, each of which sent its own lochus into the field’ (Arnold). Poppo considers the πέντε λόχοι identical with the πρεσβύτεροι, from the absence of the article; but πέντε λόχοι may have the definite force of a proper name, or the second article may be omitted as it is before ξυμμάχων at the beginning of the next chapter. In ch. 67, 17, we have simply οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀργεῖοι mentioned besides the χίλιοι λογάδες.

26. ἐσ χεῖρας—so iii. 108, 1, ἐσ ἀλκὴν ὑπομεῖναι: Xen. An. iv. 3, 31, εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι. τοὺς πολλούς—partial apposition, ‘for the most part’. Εστιν οὓς is a still further restriction.

29. καταπατηθέντας—i.e. by one another in their eager struggles to escape; as in vii. 84, 3, ἐπέπιπτόν τε ἄλλήλοις καὶ κατεπάτουν. This is explained by the following words, in which τὴν ἐγκατάληψιν is the subject of μὴ φθῆναι, and is equivalent to τοὺς ἐγκαταλαμβάνοντας, ‘in order that the enemy might not overtake them before they could escape’. Haack and Poppo approve of this view of the passage, which is now generally accepted. τοῦ μὴ φθῆναι may depend on both the preceding clauses, or on ἐνδόντας only, the next clause being then parenthetical.

If this view is not adopted τὴν ἐγκατάληψιν must be taken as the object of φθῆναι, which necessitates giving an irregular

sense to τοῦ μὴ φθῆναι, 'because they could not escape', or 'so that they did not escape being overtaken'. Arnold suggests τῷ μή, dative of the efficient cause.

ib. ἔγκατάληψις—not found elsewhere in Thucydides, though ἔγκαταλαμβάνω occurs eight times. The compound implies a place, as in ch. 3, 8. In iv. 35, 2, we have ὅσοι ὑποχωροῦντες ἔγκατελαμβάνοντο ἀπέθνησκον, 'all who were overtaken, or seized, on the field (or in the retreat) were slain', an exact parallel to the present use of the substantive. For the use of the verbal see λῆψις ch. 110, 3.

## CHAPTER LXXIII

2. παρερρήγγυντο—iv. 96, 4 τῶν Θηβαίων ἐφεπομένων καὶ παραρρηγύντων: vi. 70, 2, παρερρήγυντο ἥδη καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα. The ranks were broken by the men being forced from beside their comrades. καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα—i.e., as Poppe explains, 'cum media acies cessisset, tum simul etiam ab utroque latere vicinos ordines dissolutos esse Thucydides indicare censendus est'. Krüger suggests τὰ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα, otherwise the subject is the Argive force generally. καὶ goes with ἐκάτερα, as in vi. 80, 1, with ἀμφοτέρων. Classen points out the force of the imperfects in denoting the moment of danger. He however refers this clause to the defeated centre; but it appears to have already broken and fled.

4. τῷ περιέχοντι σφῶν—cf. ch. 71, 13. αὐτούς—the Athenians generally. περιειστήκει—iii. 54 fin., φόβος περιέστη τὴν Σπάρτην: iv. 35, 3, etc.

6. κυκλουμένους='on the point of being hemmed in'; imperfect passive: so in vii. 81, 3, κυκλοῦται is passive, while ten lines before ἐκυκλοῦντο is transitive. ἡσσημένους—these were the παρατεταγμένοι, ch. 72, 26.

8. ἐταλαιπώρησαν—ch. 74, 13; as we say 'suffered' to denote actual loss. οἱ ἵππης παρόντες—the predicate is similarly used in iv. 44, 1, ἦσαν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ ἵππης ὠφέλιμοι ξυμμαχόμενοι. παρίοντες, which Classen suggests, is no improvement, for the cavalry were μετ' αὐτῶν (ch. 67, 20).

9. *καὶ ξυνέβη*—another ‘concurrent circumstance’ which saved the Athenians. *πονοῦν*—iv. 96, 4, *ἐπόνει τὸ εὐώνυμον*.

14. *ἔξεκλινεν*—only here in Thucydides: Xen. *Cyr.* i. 4, 23, *ἔκκλινουσι καὶ φεύγουσι*. *τὸ ήσσηθέν*—‘which had been beaten’: *ἡσσημένος*, as in line 7, denotes the resulting condition.

21. *καὶ πλείους*—if the text is right, *πλείους* is a *general comparison*, lit. more than might be expected, or more than their due proportion, i.e. a large number. In iv. 42, 3, and 103, 3 *ἐκ πλείους* has a similar force. *καὶ* then emphasizes the serious loss of the Mantineans, contrasted with the slight loss of the Argives. Some inferior manuscripts have *οἱ πλείους*: but the total loss was only 200.

In iv. 44, 2, *οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον* means that their chief loss was at the point spoken of: so vii. 30, 2, *ἀποκτείνουσι ἐν τῷ ἐκβάσει τοὺς πλείστους*, where the total loss was 250 out of 1300: but such an explanation will not suit the present passage.

22. *τὸ πολύ*—iv. 25, 8, *τῶν Λεοντίνων τὸ πολύ*: iv. 113, 1, *τὸ πολὺ ἔθορυβεῖτο*. *βίαιος*—‘hard-pressed’: iv. 31, fin., *εἰ καταλαμβάνοι ἀναχώρησις βιαιοτέρα*: ii. 33, 3, *βιαιώτερον ἀναγαγόμενοι* of embarking under an enemy’s attack. *μακρά*, like *ἐπὶ πολύ* below, of distance.

25. *τὰς μάχας...ποιοῦνται*—this sentence is an excellent example of article and substantive with *ποιεῖσθαι*: see note on iv. 13, 1. ‘The Lacedaemonians fight long and refuse to move until they have put an enemy to flight, but, having once defeated him, they do not follow him far or long’ (Jowett). *χρονίους*—so vi. 31, 5: but in i. 12, 1 the feminine is *χρονία*. *τῷ μένειν*—‘by standing their ground’.

## CHAPTER LXXIV

1. *καὶ*—we might expect *ἢ*, as in vii. 86, *ὅτι τοιαύτη ἢ ὅτι ἔγγυτα τούτων αἰτίᾳ*: but Arnold is right in comparing i. 22, 4, *τοιαύτα καὶ παραπλήσια*: so i. 143, 3: vii. 15, 2, *παραπλήσιον καὶ οὐ πολλῷ πλέον*: vii. 42, 2, *ἴσον καὶ παραπλήσιον*. *καὶ* has in fact a sort of corrective force=‘I mean’, ‘that is to say’, as noted in ch. 20, 4. *ἢ* on the other hand, meaning ‘or else’, would imply some uncertainty as to the facts.

2. πλείστου...δή—see note on ch. 60, 16, for δή with the superlative. For the genitive of time ‘within which’, see ch. 14, 16: Plat. *Gorg.* 448 A, οὐδεὶς με ἡρώτηκε κανὸν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ πολλῶν ἔτῶν.

4. ξυνελθοῦσα—with μάχη=commissa; constructed with ὑπό as being virtually passive. Somewhat similar is i. 15, 2, πόλεμος οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη; cf. Hdt. vii. 144, οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος συντάσ. Poppe quotes μάχη σινῆι καρτερά from Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xvii. 10 (12), 2.

5. προθέμενοι—apparently = θέμενοι τὰ δπλα πρό, ‘taking up their position before’: see note on iv. 44, 1, θέντο τὰ δπλα. For constr. cf. Eur. *Iph.* T. 1218, πέπλον διμάτων προθέσθαι. A guard was posted, to oblige the enemy to ask leave to bury the dead, which was a confession of defeat; so φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες (iv. 97, 1). Krüger and others take it to mean ‘displaying the arms of the dead’, like ii. 34, 2, τὰ δστὰ προτιθενται, but they cite no instances of such a practice.

6. ιστασαν—Classen considers that the imperfect is used here because the trophy was not completed till the enemy owned his defeat. But ιστασαν is used again in vi. 70, 3; and probably (like έσκύλενον) merely denotes what the victors ‘went on to do’ or ‘began to do’ next. The aorists which follow imply the completion of all that had to be done.

11. Αιγανήταις—Athenian έποικοι, the inhabitants having been removed in 431 (ii. 27, 1). αἱμφότεροι—Laches and Nicostratus (ch. 61, 1).

13. ἐταλαιπώρησαν—ch. 73, 8. καὶ—emphatic: there may have been some loss, but it was not ‘also’ (besides occurring) worth taking into account: so iv. 48, 5, οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἡν ὑπόλοιπον τῶν ἔτέρων ὁ τι καὶ ἀξιόλογον: i. 15, 2, πόλεμος, ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρεγένετο, οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη: ii. 54, 5, οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν ὁ τι ἀξιον καὶ εἰπεῖν.

14. ἀπογενέσθαι—ii. 34, 1, τὰ δστὰ τῶν ἀπογενομένων: ii. 51, 7, τὰς δλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογεγομένων: ii. 98, 2, of loss to an army generally, as opposed to προσγίγνεσθαι: Hdt. v. 4 γινόμενος καὶ ἀπογινόμενος, of births and death. αὐτῶν, according to Poppe, depends on προθέσθαι, but the sense seems rather to connect it with some statement of number. It can scarcely depend on ἀλήθεια, but it may be taken with τριακοσίους, the

clause with *μὲν* being thus subordinate in sense to that with *δέ*.

16. *περὶ τριακοσίους*—subject; so Xen. *Hell.* iv. 6, 11, ἀπέθανον *περὶ τριακοσίους*: prep. with object, Thuc. iv. 48, 1, ἐς ἔξηκοντα ἄλαθον διαφθείραντες: cf. vii. 30, 3.

## CHAPTER LXXV

2. *τοὺς τε πρεσβυτέρους*—see ch. 64, 13. *ἔβοήθησε*—‘had marched out’. Poppo refers to the law mentioned by Hdt. v. 75, ἐτέθη νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ μὴ ἔξειναι ἐπεσθαι ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἔξιούσης στρατιῆς. That law appears rather to mean that the two kings were not to be in joint command of the same army. See however Stein on the passage from Herodotus, and the words which he cites from Xen. *Hell.* v. 3, 10. We there find that the Phliasians in 381 assumed that they were safe from attack on the part of Agesilaus, as the other king was in the field, οὐδ' ἀν γενέσθαι ὥστε ἄμα ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἔξω Σπάρτης εἶναι.

6. *τοὺς ἀπὸ Κορίνθου*—see ch. 64, 18. *ἀπέστρεψαν*—iv. 97, 2, ὃς αὐτὸν ἀποστρέψας. *ἀπέτρεψαν* was formerly read against mss. authority: ‘*ἀποτρέπειν* magis notat *avertere, dehortari, dissuadere; ἀποστρέψειν* autem *retro convertere, iubere redire*’ (Bauer, cited by Poppo).

9. *Κάρυεια*—ch. 54, 9. *ἐτύγχανον*—ch. 26, 15.

10. *τότε*—‘at this time’, i.e. since the capture of Sphacteria, as is shown by what follows. In iv. 40 we are told of the astonishment caused by the surrender at Sphacteria, while complaints of sluggishness and inaction on the part of Sparta had been made even before the war began, for instance in the speech of the Corinthians (i. 68—71). *ἐπιφερομένην*—cf. iii. 46 fin. *τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν*: so iii. 42, 3, *ἀδικίας ἐπιφερομένης*.

11. *ἐς*—‘for, in respect of’: viii. 88, 1, *ἐς φιλίαν διαβάλλειν*, where instances from Plutarch etc., may be found in Poppo. *τὴν ἄλλην*—ch. 60, 10: Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, 5, οὐκ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον.

13. ἐνὶ ξρυγῷ τούτῳ—οὗτος thus used without the article has a predicative or appositional force; the sense being ‘and thus by one victory they regained their reputation’.

14. κακιζόμενοι—κακίσω, ‘to reproach’, occurs in i. 105, 5, κακιζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων: ii. 22 fin. ἐκάκιζον (*τὸν Περικλέα*). Here therefore the meaning appears to be ‘open to reproach’. Elsewhere, e.g. Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 214: Eur. *Ion*, 984, κακίζομαι means to act the coward, and this would give a good sense in the present passage, viz. that the late inaction and seeming cowardice of the Spartans were due to stress of circumstances, not to failure of spirit. A similar opposition between τύχη and γνώμη is attributed to the Peloponnesian commanders in ii. 87, 3, δίκαιον νομίσαι ταῖς μὲν τύχαις ἐνδέχεσθαι σφάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ταῖς δὲ γνώμαις τοὺς αὐτοὺς δεῖ ἀνδρείους δρθῶς εἶναι.

15. προτέρᾳ—Cobet would read προτεραίᾳ, but the editors generally retain προτέρᾳ, as πρότερος can be used of days, e.g. Hom. *Il.* xxi. 5, ἡματὶ τῷ προτέρῳ. In i. 44, 1, we have τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ answered by ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. For the following genitive cf. Hdt. v. 56, ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων.

17. ὡς ἔριμον οὖσαν—ch. 56, 21. τῶν Ἀργείων—dependent on φύλακας, ἔξελθόντων being added as a predicate, ‘as they had gone out on foreign service’. ἔξελθόντων αὐτῶν, genitive absolute, is also read. Arnold refers ἔξελθόντων to φύλακας, whether αὐτῶν is read or not, rendering ‘as they had ventured out to fight them’. ἔξελθόντες has this force in viii. 25, 2, but the meaning first given is the usual one, and makes the better sense. πολλούς—predicate, ‘in large numbers’.

19. Ἐλείων—see ch. 62, 8. πρὸς τοῖς προτέροις—ch. 61, 1. Classen points out that no new commander’s name is given, though both the Athenian generals had fallen in the battle.

23. διελόμενοι—sc. τὴν πόλιν, or the operations against it: cf. ch. 114, 4: iv. 11, 3, κατ’ ὅλιγας ναῖς διελόμενοι, with no object expressed. ἔσπειρανσαντο—a strong expression = ἀπέκαμον τοῦ περιτειχίζειν (schol.). This is the only instance of the middle given in Lid. and Scott.

26. τὴν ἄκραν—a rocky promontory near the harbour. τὸ Ἡραῖον is in apposition; as in i. 46, 3, ἡ ἄκρα τὸ Χειμέριον. There are various forms of such construction with names; e.g. (a) iv. 25, 5, κατὰ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμόν (the usual order

with *ποταμός*): iv. 108, 1, ἡ Βόλβη λίμνη: iv. 43, 1, ἐπὶ τὴν Σολύγειαν κώμην: (b) i. 116, 1, πρὸς Τραγίδα τῇ νήσῳ: iv. 96, 5, πρὸς Πάρνηθα τὸ δρός: (c) i. 100, 3, τὸ χωρίον αἱ Εὐνέα ὁδοὶ: vii. 3, 4, τὸ φρούριον τὸ Λάβδαλον: (d) ch. 41, 8, ἔχει Θυρέαν πόλιν: (e) iv. 46, 1, ἐν τῷ δρει τῆς Ἰστώνης. See Krüger's *Grammar*, § 50, 7.

27. **ξυγκαταλιπόντες**—another rare word, denoting the common action of the combined force. The fortified position now occupied was not long retained, see ch. 80, 16.

## CHAPTER LXXVI

1. **εὐθύς**—with *χειμῶνος ἀρχομένου*: ch. 13, 1, with *ἐπιγνομένου*: so iv. 52, 1. *ἐπειδὴ τὰ Κάρνεια ἥγαγον*—most modern editors regard this clause as an interpolation derived from ch. 75, 23, for the Carneia were over long before the winter period began; see ch. 54, 9. Jowett however holds that the words ‘are not intended as a mark of time, but have reference to the advantage taken of the Carneia by the enemies of Sparta’. If so, they seem somewhat misleading.

5. **ξυμβατηρίους**—a word only found in this chapter in Attic Greek, though used by later writers. Thucydides has λόγοι *ξυμβατικοί*, vi. 103, 3; so viii. 71, 1, and 91, 1, οὐδὲν *ξυμβατικόν*.

ib. **ἥσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς**—from the position of the words = ‘they had adherents’, though the dative may depend on *ἐπιτήδειοι*. *πρότερόν τε...καὶ ἐπειδὴ*—see note on iv. 103, 3, *ἐπραξάν τε...καὶ τότε*. In such cases the clause with *τε* refers to a time before that with which the main part of the sentence deals. *ἐπιτήδειοι*—favourable to their interests; i. 60, 2, *τοῖς Ποτιδαιάταις ἀεὶ ποτε ἐπιτήδειος*. *τὸν δῆμον*—the democracy, as in line 11: iii. 81, 3 etc.: without the article i. 107, 3: vi. 27 fin. etc.

8. **ἔσ τὴν δημολογίαν**—loosely connected with *πειθεῖν* = ὥστε *τὴν δημολογίαν ποιεῖσθαι*. **ποιήσαντες**—‘after effecting’; cf. ch. 38, 27. **καὶ ξυμμαχίαν**—sc. *ποιήσαι*, ‘afterwards to bring about an alliance as well, and then’ etc. **ἐπιτίθεσθαι**—iii. 72, 1, *ἐπιτίθενται τῷ δῆμῳ*.

13. Δίχας—see ch. 50, 16. δύο λόγω—two proposals.  
 $\kappa\alpha\theta'$  ὅ τι κ.τ.λ.—‘mira verborum brevitas’, says Poppe, who adds that πολεμήσουσι and εἰρήνην ἀξονοῦ are to be understood with  $\kappa\alpha\theta'$  ὅ τι and ώς respectively. We have other forms of ellipse where terms are offered, e.g. iv. 37, 2, ἐκήρυξαν εἰ βούλουστο τὰ δπλα παραδοῖναι, sc. that they should accept these conditions: cf. iii. 52, 2, προσπέμπει κήρυκα λέγοντα εἰ κ.τ.λ. Dobree suggested leaving out εἰ in both clauses. The proposal for war may have been something like the arrangement recorded in ch. 41.

16. ξτυχε...παρών—ch. 61, 9. τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις—for dative cf. iv. 106, 2, τῶν πρασσόντων τῷ Βρασίδᾳ. where also ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ occurs. τολμῶντες—so ii. 43, 1, and often.

## CHAPTER LXXVII

The terms of the treaty in this chapter, and of the alliance in ch. 79, are given in the Doric dialect. The language however, according to the authorities, does not entirely conform to the rules of Laconian speech; and the documents may have been modified in the course of transcription. ‘These two treaties imposed by the victorious Lacedaemonians upon Argos mark the final dissolution of the alliance between Argos and the discontented members of the Peloponnesian league, and also of the alliance between Argos, Athens, Elis, and Mantinea’ (Jowett).

1. καττάδε—i.e. κατὰ τάδε: ch. 79 init. so καττὰ for κατὰ τά, line 15. τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ—‘The usual name of a public assembly in the Doric states was ἀλία. This is the name by which the Spartan assembly is called in Herodotus (vii. 134), and it is also used in official documents for those of Byzantium, of Gela, Agrigentum, Corcyra and Heraclea. In Sparta the ancient name of an assembly of the people was ἀπέλλα. In later times the names ἐκκλησία and οἱ ἐκκλητοὶ appear to have been chiefly in use’ (Müller’s *Dorians*, Bk. iii. 5, 9). See vi. 88, 10, ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων. In the passage cited from Herodotus ἀλίη seems merely his own general term; as he uses it in i. 125, of an assembly of Persians; v. 30, of a meeting held at Miletus; v. 79, of an assembly at Thebes.

2. ξυμβαλέσθαι—‘to make agreement’; so line 24: Xen. *Anab.* vi. 6, 35, ξενίαν συνεβάλλοντο: vi. 3, 3, συνεβάλοντο λόφου, ‘they agreed on a certain hill’. ποττώς=πρὸς τούς: Theocr. xi. 1, ποττὸν Ἐρωτα: Ar. *Lys.* 1005, ποττὰς σπονδάς. ἀποδιδόντας—‘on their restoring’. παῖδες must be the hostages mentioned at the end of ch. 61, who were given to the Mantineans: Argos is therefore made responsible for their return.

4. τῶς ἄνδρας τοῖς Μαιναλοῖς—‘no former mention had been made of the Maenaliens; but as they had no one city, but were dispersed in several villages, an invading army could have had no difficulty in obliging them to give hostages separately, nor was there any one town capable of affording such resistance as to make its submission deserve a separate notice’ (Arnold). ‘The men in Mantinea’ are the Arcadian hostages whom the Lacedaemonians had deposited in Orchomenus, and who were handed over to the Mantineans (ch. 61 fin.). There is a clear distinction made between παῖδες and ἄνδρες in this passage. Classen supposes that παῖδες may be youths who had not attained military age; Krüger suggests that slaves may be meant.

6. ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρω—i.e. Ἐπιδαύρου. The district or neighbourhood is meant, as in ch. 55, 2. ἐκβάντας=ἐκβαλγοντας: see Lid. and Scott, προβάω. τὸ τεῖχος is the headland of Heraeum, ch. 75, 26.

7. αἱ δέ κα—αἱ=εἰ; κα for Ionic κε=Attic ἄν: the whole phrase being equivalent to ἐὰν δέ. εἴκωντι=εἴκωσι, ‘withdraw’: Krüger cites εἴκουσ’ ἐκ χώρης from Tyrtaeus; Hdt. ii. 80, εἴκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ.

8. πολεμίους εἶμεν—=εἶναι; so ch. 79, 2. ήμεν is also read. The Athenians are the subject. ‘A note of hostility to the Athenians is now first openly expressed, not unnaturally, since the captives were recovered, and the Athenians had taken part in the battle of Mantinea’ (Jowett).

11. ἔχοντι—ἔχωντι is also read, but the indicative, as Poppo shows, gives the better sense, as it is a question of actual fact. For εἰ with the subjunctive see Goodwin’s *Moods and Tenses*, § 454. Madvig (*Greek Syntax*, § 125) restricts the use in Attic prose to ‘the archaic phraseology of law’.

12. περὶ δὲ τῷ σιῶ σύμπατος—=τοῦ θεοῦ θύματος: Ar. *Lys.* 81, ναὶ τῷ σιῶ. We should expect τῷ σιῶ τῷ σύμπατος; cf. i. 139, 1, περὶ τῷ ἐναγῶν τῆς ἐλάσσεως: vi. 33, 1, περὶ τοῦ ἐπίπλου

*τῆς ἀληθείας.* Otherwise *σιῶ* is without the article, having in itself a definite force: cf. iv. 110, 1, ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως διορύγματος, *βασιλεύς*, without the article, meaning the king of Persia. For 'the sacrifice due to the god', viz. Apollo Pythaeus, see ch. 53, 3.

The reading of the remainder of this passage seems hopelessly uncertain, but the general sense is, as Arnold says, 'that with respect to the victim alleged by the Argives to be owed to the temple of Apollo from the Epidaurians, the matter should be decided by the oath of the Epidaurians, who were to swear whether it was justly due from them or no. It is well known that, where the evidence was not clear, the accused was allowed to clear himself by oath; and if he swore that he was innocent, the accuser had no further remedy'. See the provisions in ch. 18, 20.

13. *εἰμεν λῆν*—the manuscript readings, *ἐμέν λῆν*, *ἐμέλην*, etc. are various and unintelligible. *λῆν* is the infinitive of *λάω=θέλω*: Ar. *Lys.* 981, *λῶ τι μυστῖξαι νέον*: *Ach.* 766, *αἱ λῆς=εἰ θέλεις*. The reading in the text is taken (i) 'that it be allowed to the Epidaurians to choose (*λῆν*) an oath'; but *λῆν* can scarcely thus govern an accusative: (ii) 'that (the contracting parties) desire (*λῆν*) that an oath be allowed (*εἰμεν*) to the Epidaurians', or be taken by them. Some support for this rendering is derived, as Jowett points out, from ch. 18, 59, *ἔστω δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅρκος*: but it is most awkward to connect *λῆν* with the initial *δοκεῖ*, like the other infinitives throughout the chapter. Should *λῆν* be omitted?

ib. *δόμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁμόσαι*—'if *αὐτοῖς* be right it is the subject of *δόμεν* (= *δοῦναι*) and must refer to the Argives, who were to tender the oath. This makes sense, but forces the meaning of *αὐτοῖς*: Arnold accordingly reads *αὐτοῖς*, = that it be tendered to them.

The reading adopted of this clause assumes *εἰμεν λῆν* in the clause before. There is however another suggested reading *αἱ μέν=εἰ μέν*, the infinitive *λῆν* being taken with *αἱ*, 'if they will'. *εἰ* with the infinitive in oratio obliqua is Herodotean; there is one instance in Thucydides, iv. 98, 3, *εἰ ..δυνηθῆναι*, where see note. With this reading there is a different group of suggestions and explanations; e.g. Becker's *αἱ μὲν λῆν τῷς Ἐπιδαυρίῳς, ὅρκον δόμεναι αὐτοῖς ὁμόσαι*, 'if the Epidaurians please etc.': and Ahrens' conjecture *αἱ μὲν λῆν, τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίῳς δόρκον δόμεν, αἱ δέ, αὐτῷς ὁμόσαι*, 'if they please, they may tender an oath to the Epidaurians, if (otherwise) they may swear themselves'; i.e. the matter was to be decided either by the oath of the Epidaurians or by that of the Argives.

Further discussion of the text may be found in Classen and Fowler.

14. **καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας**—‘attende articulum non additum, qui ideo omissus videtur, quia sententia haec est: sive parvae sint sive magnae’ (Poppo). ‘The independence of the cities of Peloponnesus, ‘small and great’, is proclaimed, probably to avoid the suspicion which had been engendered by the former treaty between Lacedaemon and Athens, ch. 29, and on the other hand to prevent larger states, like Elis or Mantinea, increasing their power by the subjugation of smaller ones’ (Jowett). See note at the beginning of ch. 47.

16. **αἱ δέ κα τῶν ἐκτός**—this clause is especially directed against Athens. **ἐπὶ κακῷ**—ch. 18, 28. **ἀλεξέμεναι**—i.e. **ἀλέξειν**: ‘to lend aid’ or repel the enemy from another: mid. ‘repel from one’s self’: cf. **ἀμύνω**, **ἀμύνομαι**.

18. **ἀμόθι**—probably=Doric **ἀμᾶ** (or **ἀμᾶ**) i.e. **ἄμα**: cf. ch. 47, 80, **κοινῆ βουλευομέναις**: ch. 80, 8, **μὴ ξυμβαλεῖν...ἄλλη** **ἢ ἄμα**. Lid. and Scott however say that the word means ‘in any way’, as **οὐδαμόθι=οὐδαμοῦ**. **ἀμόθει** is also read and is interpreted either in the same sense =**ἄμα**, or as derived from a privative and **μόθος**, ‘sine seditione et dissensione’ (Ahrens). **ὅπᾳ κα=ὅπῃ ἀν**, ch. 18, 67: viii. 56, 4. **ἐντί=εισι**. For **ἐσσοῦνται**, Ahrens reads **ἐσσούνται**.

23. **ἐπιδείξαντας**—‘the contracting parties to show these conditions to the allies before concluding the treaty’. The participle as usual is the emphatic word. For **ξυμβαλέσθαι** see line 2.

24. **αἱ κα αὐτοῖς δοκῇ**—**αὐτοῖς** seems certainly to refer to the allies. If they approved, the treaty was to be signed at once. Their possible disapproval is dealt with in the next clause, **αἱ δὲ τι**, where the addition of **καὶ ἄλλο** as read by Arnold makes the sense clear, but has little authority. One manuscript has **μὴ**. **καὶ ἄλλο** is a plausible suggestion; but we see from ch. 79, 13, that the subjunctive can stand with **αἱ** alone.

25. **ἀπιάλλην**—=**ἀποπέμπειν**. The subject is not clear. Either the Lacedaemonians and Argives were to send the allies home to consult their respective home governments; or the allies were to send the proposed terms home for con-

sideration. Grote and others understand that the allies were to be summarily dismissed, and the treaty concluded without them; but this scarcely agrees with the clauses before.

## CHAPTER LXXVIII

4. ἐπιμέτας οὖσης—with παρά: cf. i. 13, 3, παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμετρήντων: ii. 1, ἐπεμίγνυντο παρ' ἀλλήλους. ἐπιμέτα occurs ch. 35, 3.

6. ἔπραξαν—see the end of ch. 76. ἀφέντας—i. 102, 3, ἀφέντες τὴν ξυμμαχίαν: so ch. 115, 7. σπονδ's καὶ ξυμμαχίαν—ch. 46, 40.

## CHAPTER LXXIX

3. ἐπὶ τοῖς λεισ—ch. 27, 14. διδόντας—accusative, as if ξυμμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι had gone before. The construction may have been changed to avoid clashing with the intervening datives.

5. κοινωνεόντων—=κοινωνούντων: κοινάρ = κοινών subst., Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 28. τὰν ξυμμαχιῶν—Classen with Cobet reads τᾶς ξυμμαχίας, see ch. 27, 2. αὐτοπόλεις—not found elsewhere; see the similar compounds at the beginning of ch. 18.

7. ἔχοντες...διδόντες—this transition to the masculine is to be noticed. τοῖσπερ—sc. ἐν: ch. 42, 2. The plural is here used instead of ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ περ, ch. 77, 20.

14. ὅπᾳ κα—ch. 77, 18. Poppe suggests that κρίνωντι should be read for κρίναντας. Otherwise the phraseology is elliptical, κρίνωντι being implied. See Krüger's *Grammar*, § 69, 7, 2, for somewhat similar examples. The clause refers to the supplies and contingents which the respective cities would have to furnish.

18. **διακριθῆμεν**—in the active **διακρίνω** is to decide or settle a difference; as Hdt. i. 100, **διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας δίκας**. In the passive it is used of the disputants; Plat. *Euthyph.* 7 c, **ἐπὶ τὸ ιστάναι ἐλθόντες διακριθεῖμεν ἄν**, ‘we should settle our difference by recourse to weighing’. Here the meaning seems to be that the allied cities are if possible to ‘settle disputes’ between themselves. The next item of the treaty provides for arbitration in case of the dispute going on. Arnold however takes the first clause to refer to a difference between an allied city and one outside the confederacy, and the second to a quarrel between two allied cities. The former case was to be settled as best it could; in the latter arbitration was to be resorted to.

19. **ἐρίζοι**—‘if the difference should become a quarrel’ (Jowett). There seems no especial reason for the optative; though it may be explained as following the initial **ἴδοξε** and as denoting a more improbable and remote contingency than the subjunctive. **δοκεῖοι** is accommodated to the same construction.

ib. **ἄν τινα ίσαν**—we should expect **ἄτις ίσα** as subject to **δοκεῖοι**. As the text stands either (1) **δοκεῖοι** means ‘considers’, the subject being the **πόλις** which goes with **ἐρίζοι** and **εἰναι** being understood: or more probably (2) the full construction is (**ἐς**) **ἄν τινα (ώς οὐσαν) ίσαν (ἐλθεῖν) δοκεῖοι**. **δοκεῖοι** is equivalent to **δοκοίη**.

20. **ἀμφοῖν ταῖς**—we have **ἀμφοῖν τοῖν** ch. 29, 17: **ἀμφω τῷ** twice in ch. 23. These are the only instances of **ἀμφω** in Thucydides.

ib. **τῶς δ' ἔταις**—the manuscripts have **τοῖς δ' ἔταις**, which necessitates giving an impersonal passive meaning to **δικάζεσθαι**, ‘justice to be administered’, for which there is no authority. **ἔται** are private citizens. In an ancient inscription at Olympia they are opposed to the **τελεσταῖοι** **ἐν τέλει**; cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 247, **πρός σε πότερον ως ἔτην λέγω...ἢ πόλεως ἀγόν**; Their ancient legal rights are here secured against change of government, or the centralising influence of dominant states.

## CHAPTER LXXX

1. ἐγεγένητο—for similar pluperfects see iv. 13, 1: iv. 47, 1 (Arnold's note). The alliance is regarded as complete, the following events are the consequences of its completion.

2. ὄπόσα...εἰχον—'εἰχον is taken in two senses. Whatever were the places belonging to one another which they had gained by war (εἰχον) they restored, and any other complaint which they had to bring (εἰχον), they settled with one another. διελύσαντο in strictness belongs only to εἰ τι ἀλλο εἰχον: some word such as ἀπέδοσαν having to be supplied with ὄπόσα πολέμῳ εἰχον' (Jowett).

3. διελύσαντο—i. 140, 4, βούλονται τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι: i. 145, 1, διαλύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων: pass. iv. 19, 2, μεγάλας ἔχθρας διαλύεσθαι.

4. τιθέμενοι—managing and arranging; i. 25, 1, ἐν ἀπόρῳ εῖχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν: vi. 11, 5, τὸ σφέτερον ἀπρεπὲς εὖ θήσονται. τὰ τείχη—any fortified positions which they might hold; especially the fortress at Epidaurus, line 17.

7. μὴ ξυμβαίνειν τῷ—see ch. 38, 5. ἀλλ' η ἄμα here corresponds to ἀνευ κοινῆς γνώμης.

8. θυμῷ ἔφερον—'carried on with spirit'; 'they were very energetic in all their doings' (Jowett): i. 31, 1, δρυγῷ φέροντες τὸν πόλεμον: iv. 121, 1, τὸν πόλεμον προθύμως οἴσειν: Hdt. ix. 40, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον. The construction is similar, though the sense is slightly different, in Eur. *Suppl.* 556, ἀδικουμένους μέτρια μὴ θυμῷ φέρειν: id. *Andr.* 144, τὸ σὸν οἰκτῷ φέροντα τυγχάνω: where φέρω means 'bearing' rather than 'conducting'; cf. βαρέως φέρειν etc.

9. ὡς Περδίκκαν—Perdiccas still professed to be an ally of Athens; see ch. 6, 6. διενοεῖτο—ἀποστήναι is understood, as ἀποστάντας is understood with ἔωρα: cf. i. 1, 1, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὥρων ξυνιστάμενον: τὸ μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον, sc. ξυνιστατθαι: vii. 65, 1, ἀντεπλήρουν τὰς ναῦς ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡσθάνοντο, sc. πληροῦντας.

13. ήν δὲ...ξ Ἀργους—ii. 99, 2, Τημενίδαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον δύτες ξ Ἀργους, of Perdiccas and his ancestors: see also Hdt. viii. 137. For constr. cf. iv. 3, 3, *οἰκεῖος δύτας αὐτῷ τὸ ἀρχαῖον.* τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι—in ch. 31, 29, we find the Chalcidians making a league with Argos. They had probably been regarded as allies of Sparta since 432, when they revolted from Athens (i. 58, 1).

17. τὸ ξ—ch. 34, 1, note. Arnold quotes Hdt. vii. 37, ὅτιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁδόν. τεῖχος—see ch. 75, 26.

18. όρῶντες...δύτες—the manuscript reading is δύτας, which might possibly be explained as referring to τοὺς σφετέρους: δύτες however is read by all editors, to avoid ambiguity. The position was held by the Argive confederates jointly (ch. 75).

19. Δημοσθένην—the common form of the accusative of this name. It is a ‘heteroclite’, like Σωκράτης, which makes both Σωκράτην and Σωκράτη.

21. πρόφασιν—the accusative in apposition adverbially used; so iii. 111, 1: cf. προῖκα, δωρέαν etc. In ch. 53, 2, we have προφάσει. ‘Demosthenes seems to have acted partly from bravado, partly because he preferred to give up the fortress to the Epidaurians, rather than leave it in the possession of the confederate troops, which included those of Argos, now in alliance with Sparta. By the terms of the first treaty (ch. 77, 6) the Argives equally with the Athenians were bound to evacuate the fortress, but this may have been unknown to Demosthenes’ (Jowett).

22. τὸ ἄλλο φρουρικόν—i.e. οἱ ἄλλοι φρουροί. The reading of the best manuscripts is φρουρίον, which Classen retains, in the sense of φρουρά, ch. 73, 28. There appears however no certain authority for this usage, and here it would be particularly awkward after the word has just been used in its natural way. It is tempting to suggest the omission either of φρουρικόν or the preceding τοῦ φρουρίου.

23. διανεωσάμενοι τὰς σπονδάς—‘the treaty referred to is probably that made at the general peace (ch. 18), which, after the many vicissitudes of Athenian and Lacedaemonian politics, might well need to be renewed in any particular which was henceforth intended to be observed. The Epidaurians are

mentioned by name in the armistice (iv. 119, 2), but are only included, without being named, among the allies of the Lacedaemonians in the treaty' (Jowett).

24. *αὐτοί*—thus avoiding the appearance of compulsion, and excluding their late allies from any credit for the surrender.

## CHAPTER LXXXI

3. *οὐ δυνάμενοι*—see note on *διεροέσθω*, ch. 80, 12. *ξυνέβησαν*—for 30 years, according to Xen. *Hell.* v. 2, 2. *τὴν ἀρχὴν...τῶν πόλεων*—see ch. 29, ch. 33 etc. These cities were given up in accordance with the provision of the treaty, ch. 79, 5.

6. *καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι*—this sentence is a curious example of appositional construction, the subject being first contracted with *αὐτοὶ ol Λακεδαιμόνιοι* and again expanded with *ξιναμφότεροι*. The clause beginning *τὰ τ' ἐν Σικυώνι* is in fact semi-parenthetical, and the meaning is that the Lacedaemonians before marching with the Argives to Argos, went by themselves to Sicyon. The Argive *χόλιοι* seem those mentioned in ch. 67, 15; most of them escaping the slaughter of Mantinea (ch. 73, 22).

8. *ἐς ὀλίγους...κατέστησαν*—i.e. set up an oligarchical government; ii. 37, 1, *διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν*: viii. 53, 4, *ἐς ὀλίγους μᾶλλον τὰς ἀρχὰς τοιήσομεν*: viii. 89, 3, *τοῦ ἀγαν ἐς ὀλίγους ἐλθεῖν*. In viii. 38, 3, the manuscripts have *τῆς πολεως ἐς ὀλίγον κατεχομένης*, where the meaning required is 'being reduced to an oligarchy'. No similar instance of *ἐς ὀλίγους* is forthcoming, and Classen and Stahl adopt Dobree's correction *ἐς ὀλίγους*.

ib. *μᾶλλον*—Krüger seems right in understanding *ἢ ἐς πλείονας*. Most editors understand *ἢ πρότερον*: but Krüger observes that this would require a more emphatic position of *μᾶλλον*, such as before *ἐς*. Grote points out that Sicyon had always been oligarchic and favourable to Sparta; but a democratic party may have been making head.

10. **κατέλυσαν**—see ch. 76, 7. **ἐπιτηδεῖα**—‘favourable to their interests’. This was the Lacedaemonian system; see i. 19, 1, οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἔχοντες φόρου τοῦς ξυμάχους ἥγοῦντο, κατ’ διιγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδεῖως ὅπως πολιτεύσωσι θεραπεύοντες.

12. **πρὸς ἔαρ**—cf. iv. 135, 1, τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ πρὸς ἔαρ ἥδη.

## CHAPTER LXXXII

1. **Διῆς**—see note on ch. 35, 1. **ἐπιτηδεῖως**—see note on ch. 81, 11. **καθίσταντο**—of political arrangements. At the beginning of the war Achaia was neutral, with the exception of Pellene (ii. 9, 2).

5. **κατ’ ὀλίγον**—‘little by little’, gradually; i. 61 fin. **κατ’ ὀλίγον προιόντες**: usually ‘in small divisions’ as in iv. 10, 4. **ξυνιστάμενος**—‘conspiring’; iii. 70, 4: or perhaps merely ‘getting together’, as in ii. 88, 1. ‘The oligarchy which was established in Argos **πρὸς ἔαρ** (ch. 81, 12), say in March, lasted till the time of the **γυμνοπαιδιαῖ**, a period of about 5 months. During this period the secret meetings and deliberations of the popular party were held, until sufficient confidence for a rising had been gained. **ἀναθαρσήσας** in the aorist denotes the conclusion of the deliberations expressed by the present **ξυνιστάμενος**’ (F.).

The clause **κατ’ ὀλίγον...ἀναθαρσήσας** is to be taken in apposition (Krüger), otherwise **ἐπέθεντο** with the singular participle would be harsh and almost unexampled: cf. iii. 80, 1, ὁ δῆμος..., περιδέης γενόμενος..., ἥεσαν ἐς λόγους.

6. **ἐπέθεντο**—ch. 76, 11. **τηρήσαντες**—ii. 22, 1, **τηρήσαντες νύκτα χειμέριον**: with infinitive iv. 26, 4, **ἐτήρουν ἀνέμῳ καταφέρεσθαι**. **αὐτάς**—‘the exact time of’: ii. 3, 3, **φυλάξαντες αὐτὸ τὸ περιορθρον**. The Gymnopaediae were held in Hecatombaeon, about July. The festival consisted of gymnastic and warlike exercises, and, like the Carneia, kept the Spartans at home.

10. **ἔως μέν**—anterior in time to the clause with **δέ**, and subordinate in sense. **ἐκ πλεονός**—‘for some time back’; iv.

42, 3: iv. 103, 3. It is to be taken with *ἥλθον*. The sense is that, though the Lacedaemonians had for some time taken no notice of repeated appeals for help, yet now they postponed the festival and marched out. There is a suspicious incompleteness about the sentence, and a want of antithesis between the clauses with *μέν* and *δέ*. We should expect *τότε δέ* or the like.

17. *ἄγγελων*—‘as messengers’. Most editors would omit this word. F. follows Müller-Strübing in reading *καὶ ἄγγελων τῶν*. The Argives in the city sent *envoys*, the exiles could only send *messengers*. *πρεσβέων τε ἀπό* is also suggested for *πρεσβέων ἀπό τε*. This would make the sentence clearer; still irregularities with *τε* are common.

18. *ἀφ' ἑκατέρων*—‘on either side’; iii. 36, 5, *γνῶμαι ἀφ' ἑκάστων ἐλέγοντο*: ch. 37, 2. *ἔγνωσαν*—‘pronounced’, as heads of the Peloponnesian league. *διατριβαῖ*—ch. 38, 30: vii. 49, 3, *δκνος τις καὶ μέλλησις ἐνεγένετο*. *προσαγόμενος*—‘courting’ or ‘trying to gain’; more usually of persons, iii. 32, 2, *δλίγοντος φιλίαν προσάξεσθαι*. Also of acquiring places by capitulation, as in ii. 30, 2: vi. 54, 3.

24. *μέγιστον [ἄν]... ὀφελήσειν*—so vii. 24, 3, *μέγιστον ἐκάκωσε*: vii. 44, 6 *μέγιστον ἐβλαψε*. The plural is more common in such cognate constructions, but the singular is quite regular; see Krüger’s *Grammar*, § 46, 5. *ἄν* with the future infinitive is found five times in Thucydides according to manuscript authority. Whether it can be retained is a moot point; see note on ch. 15, 11, and Goodwin, § 208: Madvig’s *Greek Syntax*, § 173, R. 2. Here it is easy to omit *ἄν* or to read *ὠφελῆσαι*. The subject of the infinitive in the Athenian alliance, not the contemplated building of walls (Herbst). The latter view involves a gratuitous irregularity in the use of *τε* and *καὶ*, and in no way improves the sense.

25. *μακρὰ τείχη*—see ch. 52, 15. The distance to the sea, according to Pausanias, was four miles and a half. Plutarch says that the building of the walls was promoted by Alcibiades, who came to Argos after the victory of the democracy (*Alc.* 15).

27. *ἐπαγωγή*—vii. 24, 3, *οἱ ἐσπλοι τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων*: i. 81, 1, *ἐκ θαλάσσης ὡν δέονται ἐπάξονται*.

ib. *ξυνήδεσαν*—the following accusative is rare: Hdt. vi. 39, *συνειδότες τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν θάνατον*: Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3, 6, *ξυνει-*

*δότας τὴν πρᾶξιν.* Krüger suggests *ξυνήνεσαν*. Jealousy and fear of Sparta, no doubt fomented by Alcibiades, had already produced an inclination towards Athens, and long walls would draw the Argives into closer connexion with the Athenian naval power. For the position of *τινὲς* cf. i. 45, 2, and i. 53, 4, *ἐσ τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων* (where Krüger reads *χωρίον*): Xen. *Anab.* ii. 5, 32, *τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς οὐπέων*. In ch. 25, 7, the order is different.

31. *τέκτονες*—timber was used in such works; vi. 99, 1, *λιθούς καὶ ξύλα ξυμφοροῦντες*, of the besieging Athenians at Syracuse.

### CHAPTER LXXXIII

2. *τεχνιζόντων*—*αἰσθάνομαι* is found with the genitive i. 57, 4 etc., but only here with the genitive participle: the accusative construction is common, as in ch. 37, 18.

4. *αὐτοῖς*—probably with *ὑπῆρχε* ‘they had to start with’: but the dative might also be taken with *πρασσόμενον*. Indeed its construction is affected by both words, in accordance with a common Thucydidean order. *ἐκ τοῦ Αργούς αὐτόθεν*—ii. 25, 3, *αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς περιοικίδος Ηλείων*: Hdt. viii. 64, *αὐτόθεν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος*.

8. *οὐ προύχώρησεν έτι*—‘came to nothing further’. *Υσιάς*—near the border of Arcadia on the road to Tegea.

14. *ὅτι*—gives the reason for *δηώσαντες*, the participle as usual being the emphatic word. We may compare the clause in the treaty, ch. 47, 17, *ἥν δὲ δηώσαντες οἰχωνται σφῶν*—i. 30, 3, *σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν*: so iv. 13, 2, *αὐτῶν οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπελαμβάνοντο*. The position of the pronoun gives it an emphatic force, ‘they found them receiving, they were aggrieved by their receiving their exiles’, cf. Buttmann on Dem. *Meid.* 520, § 17, *τὸν διδάσκαλον διέφθειρέ μου*. *κατώκηντο*—i. 120, 2, *κατώκημένους*: ii. 96, 1, *ὅσα μέρη κατώκητο*. This use of the perfect and pluperfect is peculiar to Thucydides and Herodotus.

16. **κατέκλησαν**—‘blockaded’, they stopped any coasting trade which might be carried on in the winter; *τοῦτ' ἔστι τῶν εἰσαγωγίων τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτούς ἀπέκλησαν* (schol.): i. 117, 2, ἐλθόντος τοῦ Περικλέους κατεκλήσθησαν. This passage and the scholiast's explanation seem enough to support the reading. **κατελήσαν** with *Μακεδονίας*, partitive genitive, and **ἐλήσαν** have been suggested; but the compound is only found in the middle and that in late authors, and the active of the simple verb is too far from the manuscript reading. According to the best manuscripts it occurs in iii. 85, 1, and iv. 41, 2, but even there Classen adopts the middle.

Most manuscripts have *Μακεδονίας Περδίκκαν*: which can scarcely mean ‘Perdiccas (king) of Macedonia’, no similar instance being known. Another explanation connects the genitive with **κατέκλησαν** on the analogy of Soph. *Aj.* 1274, *έρκεων ἔγκεκλημένοις*, ‘shut up within your bulwarks’. *Μακεδονίᾳ* has also been conjectured ‘shut him up *with*’ i.e. ‘in Macedonia’. Two inferior manuscripts have *Μακεδονίαν*, and probably this or *Μακέδονας* should be adopted, the scholiast's *αὐτούς* being in favour of the latter. *Περδίκκα*, depending on *ἐπικαλοῖντες*, should then be read in accordance with Goeller's suggestion; cf. ch. 59, 29.

19. **ξυνωμοσίαν**—see ch. 80, 11. **παρασκευασμένων**—we are told nothing of this intended expedition. It could scarcely have been before Cleon's death, as Perdiccas up to that time had been faithful to the Athenians since he broke with Brasidas in 423; see ch. 6, 6, and iv. 132, 1. Besides, it is mentioned after the **ξυνωμοσία**.

22. **ἔψευστο**—‘had belied’, i.e. failed in; iii. 66, 3, *τὴν ψευσθεῖσαν ὑπόσχεσιν*: Hdt. vi. 32, *οὐκ ἔψεύσαντο τὰς ἀπειλὰς*. So Hom., Eur. and Xen.

ib. **ἡ στρατιά**—this would imply that the troops were actually sent; or the army at any rate embodied. Perhaps **στρατεία** should be read; but **διελύθη**, ‘was broken up’, goes more naturally with **στρατιά**.

23. **ἀπάραντος**—elsewhere *ἀπαίρω* is to start, or put to sea, as in iv. 26, 4: iv. 46, 1. Possibly it may here be used to mean ‘by his defection’, which is the sense required. Most editors however believe it to be corrupt. Poppo suggests *ἀποστάντος*: Classen οὐ *παρώντος*, *ἀπατήσαντος* etc.

## CHAPTER LXXXIV

1. Ἀλκιβιάδης τε—answered by *καὶ ἐπί*, line 6. Ετι—see ch. 82, 9. κατέθεντο—iii. 72, 1, κατέθεντο ἐσ Αἰγαναν: vi. 61, 3, τοὺς ὄμήρους τὰν Ἀργειων τοὺς ἐν ταῖς νῆσοις κειμένους, where *κείμαι* represents the perfect passive of *κατατίθεσθαι*, as in ch. 61, 22.

8. Λεσβίαις—so in most manuscripts: Classen prefers *Λεσβίαιν*. According to Cobet's rule *Λεσβίου* would be the proper dual form; see note on iv. 4, 2. In favour of retaining *Λεσβίαις* cf. ch. 79 fin. ἀμφοῦν ταῖς πολεσι: so in vii. 50, 2, δυοῦν ἡμερῶν is read by some, though δύο has the best authority. According to Krüger's *Grammar*, § 44, 2, the dual and plural are used indifferently with δύο undeclined; the dual more commonly with δυοῦν.

These Lesbian ships were from Methymna, which remained free when the rest of the island was allotted to Athenian κληροῦχοι in 427 (iii. 50).

11. ξυμμάχων καὶ νησιωτῶν—not necessarily identical, as Classen shows, citing vi. 85, 2, where the Athenians explain the various degrees of independence enjoyed by their so-called allies: see also ii. 9, 3.

12. οἱ δὲ Μήλιοι—‘now the Melians’; δέ introduces the statement of the grounds of the invasion. Δακεδαιμονίων—Hdt. viii. 48, Μήλιοι γένος ἔόντες ἀπὸ Δακεδαιμονος.

14. οὐκ ἤθελον—note the force of the imperfects in this sentence. ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι—ii. 9, 3, πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας. οὐδετέρων ὄντες—we should expect either οὐδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων ὄντες (the regular form with a preposition), or οὐδετέρων ὄντες ξύμμαχοι. In iii. 86, 2, however, we have Δοκροὶ Συρακοσίων ἦσαν, sc. ξύμμαχοι. Τηνάγκαζον—the Athenians attacked them in 426 under the command of Nicias (iii. 91).

17. ἐσ πόλεμον...κατέστησαν—ch. 25, 17.

ib. στρατοπεδευσάμενοι...ἐσ—the preposition of motion is not found elsewhere with *στρατοπεδεύεσθαι*, but there is no difficulty in the pregnant construction, nor any need to read *στρατευσάμενοι*: cf. i. 109, 2, ἐσ τὴν νῆσον κατέκλησεν.

23. *ταῖς δρχαῖς*—‘the authorities’; ch. 28, 2. The ὁλίγοι seem to have been a select council or assembly.

## CHAPTER LXXXV

For the place of the ‘Melian discussion’ in the history, see Introduction.

The Athenians first propose a debate on the several points at issue instead of continuous speeches.

3. *ὅπως δή*—so vii. 18, 1, where *δή* gives the actual reason, not merely an alleged motive. *ρήσει*—only here in Thucydides. *ἀνέλευκτα*—not to be questioned or disproved.

6. *τοῦτο φρονεῖ*—‘this is the idea (intention) of’ your bringing us before the few: vi. 36, 2, *αἱ ἀγγελίαι τοῦτο δίνανται*. For *ὑμῶν* Krüger and others prefer the objective genitive *ὑμῶν*.

7. *ἀγωγή*—‘bringing’: there are two passages, iv. 29, 1, and vi. 29, 3, where this word is found in the manuscripts and where the sense required is ‘putting to sea’ or the like. In both passages most editors alter it into *δραγωγή*. In Xen. Cyr. vi. 1, 24, *ἐν ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς* means ‘on marches’ lit. the ‘leading’ of an army.

9. *μηδ' ὑμεῖς*—*μηδέ* compares the two parties to the discussion; ‘do not you any more than we’. As the Melians feared the effect of an uninterrupted address from the Athenians, so on their part they were not to restrict themselves to a single speech, but state their objections item by item as they occurred. According to this view *ἐν λόγῳ* depends on the sense ‘giving your answer’ supplied from the following words. Classen however takes *ἐν λόγῳ* of the Athenians’ speech, connecting it closely with *κρίνετε*, ‘do not you either form your decision from (hearing) a single speech’. *μηδέ* then would contrast *ὑμεῖς*, the select audience, with the *πλῆθος*. This view gives a good sense, but it seems more natural to refer *ἐν λόγῳ* to the subject of the sentence, and the dative can scarcely equal *Ἐν λόγοις ἀκούσαντες*.

10. *ὑπολαμβάνοντες*—‘replying’; ii. 72, 1: ch. 49, 20.

11. *εἰπατε*—the only instance of a form from aorist *εἰπα* in Thucydides. Generally *εἰπας* and *εἰπατε* are more usual than the corresponding forms of *εἰπον*.

## CHAPTER LXXXVI

The Melian representatives fear that they will have no real freedom of discussion. The verdict has already gone against them.

1. *ξύνεδροι*—‘commissioners’; iv. 22, 1: they are afterwards called *διλίγοι ἀνδρες* in the same chapter.

2. *ἐπιείκεια*—‘equitableness’, and reasonable consideration; iii. 40, 3, *ἡ ἐπιείκεια πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντας ἐπιτηδεῖος ἔσεσθαι διδοται*: iii. 48, 1, *μήτ' οὐκτῷ πλέον νέμοντες μήτ' ἐπιεικείᾳ*. ‘The primary sense of *ἐπιεικής* is *equitable*, one who has a leaning to the merciful side and of an indulgent disposition, as opposed to one who takes a strict and vigorous view of an offence, puts a harsh construction on men’s motives and actions, and is inclined to enforce on all occasions the letter of the law. From this, and because we think this the *better* disposition of the two, *ἐπιεικής* is transferred by metaphor to the general signification of *good*’ (Cope on Ar. Rhet. i. 2, 4). For further illustration of *τὸ ἐπιεικές* see Ar. Rhet. i. 13, 13—9: Eth. Nic. v. 10: vi. 11, 1.

4. *αὐτοῦ*—‘it’, *τοῦ διδάσκειν*, etc. *Ἐξ αὐτοῦ* below refers to the same. For this use of *αὐτό* and *αὐτά* see ch. 27, 4; and note on *ἐπάθομεν αὐτό*, iv. 25, 1.

7. *περιγενομένοις*—if we prove the better in the justice of our cause: Dem. Pant. 978, *πολλῷ τῷ δικαίῳ περιεῖναι βουλόμενος*.

## CHAPTER LXXXVII

The Athenians call on them in effect to say yes or no to their proposal.

1. *τοίνυν*—‘well then, if you etc.’ *τοίνυν* occurs in Thucydides only in direct address; ch. 89, 1: 105, 1, etc.

ib. *ὑπονοίας*—‘to calculate surmises of what is going to happen’. *ὑπόνοια* here is a somewhat invidious word: in ii. 41, 4, *τῶν ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν* is simply the conception of facts as opposed to the reality.

2. *ἄλλο τι*—*πράξουτες* may be mentally supplied, but really the phrase is independent of construction; cf. iii. 85, 4, *ἀπόγνοια τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἡ κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς*: so iii. 39, 1, *τί ἄλλο ἡ ἐπεβούλευσαν*: iii. 58, 5, *τι ἄλλο ἡ καταλείψετε*: ii. 16, *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ ἀπολεῖπων*.

ib. *ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κ.τ.λ.*—contrasted with the invisible future. *Βούλεύσοντες*—here and in ch. 111, 5, the active is appropriately used of the commissioners who ‘advise’ in the interests of the people at large. There seem however undoubted instances where Thucydides uses *βούλειν* in the sense of ‘taking counsel’, and *έβούλευσα* of ‘deciding’; and where other Attic writers would employ the middle: see note on iv. 15, 1.

4. *πανοίμεθ' ἀν*—‘we will (in that case) stop’. Contrast this cynical affectation of indifference with the peremptory *εἰπατε* at the end of ch. 85.

ib. *ἐπὶ τοῦτο*—sc. *ξυνήκετε*: iv. 18, 1, *ἔφ' ἀ νῦν ἀφιγμένοι ὑμᾶς αἴτοιμεθα*. There are abundant instances to justify the manuscript reading in iv. 3, 2, *ἐπὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ξυνέπλευσε*, though most editors alter it to *ἐπὶ τούτῳ*.

## CHAPTER LXXXVIII

The Melians agree to the discussion.

1. *μέν*—answered by *μέντοι*. *ξυγγράμη*—iv. 61, 4, *τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τλεονεκτεῦν πολλὴ ξυγγράμη*. *ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε καθεστῶταις*—‘in a position like ours’.

2. *ἐπὶ πολλῷ τρέπεσθαι*—ch. 111, 14: i. 20, fin., *ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτοιμα τρέπονται*. *δοκοῦντας*—‘in thought’: ‘minus invidiosa voce sententiam exprimunt eandem quam Athenienses verbo *ὑπονοεῖν*’ (Krüger).

3. καὶ περὶ σωτηρίας—‘particula καὶ ita collocata est, ut si in altero membro καὶ τὸν λόγον...έχέτω...γιγνόμενον vel similia quaedam essent secutura’ (Poppe): so iii. 67, 6, ἀμύνατε οὖν καὶ τῷ νόμῳ...καὶ ἡμῖν ἀνταπόδοτε χάριν δικαίαν. ἦδε πάρεστι—‘is here present’.

## CHAPTER LXXXIX

The Athenians deprecate appeals to abstract justice and the like, and call on the Melians to take a practical view of the actual facts.

1. οὔτε αὐτοί...οῦθ' ὑμᾶς—‘well then, we make no pretence of fine words, and we beg you will not’. The ὄνόματα καλά are appeals to justice and the like, contrasted with τὰ δυνατά. Similar language is attributed to the Athenian envoy Euphemus at Camarina, vi. 83, 2, οὐ καλλιεπούμεθα, ὡς ἡ τὸν βάρβαρον μόνον καθελόντες εἰκότως ἀρχομεν κ.τ.λ. See also the whole of the Athenian speech at Sparta before the war, i. 73—78. ὄνέματα =nomina, names of things; cf. iii. 82, 4, τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξιώσιν τῶν δυνομάτων ἀντήλλαξαν.

3. ἀδικούμενοι—note the use of the present. ἐπεξερχόμεθα—‘are seeking redress, exacting vengeance’; iii. 38, 1, ὁ παθὼν...ἐπεξέρχεται: vi. 38, 2, ἡμεῖς κακοὶ ἐπεξελθεῖν.

4. οῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦμεν—οὐκ ἀξιῶ=‘I request you not’; ch. 26, 9: i. 136, 3, οὐκ ἀξιῶ φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι. ἢ ὅτι...ἢ ὡς—dependent on λέγοντας. Λακεδαιμονίων...ξυνεστρατεύσατε—in sentences like this the verb states a fact of which the participle gives the reason; cf. line 2: iv. 27, 2, ἔχοντάς τι λεσχυρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον οὐκέτι ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι, ‘thought they must have some strong ground to rely on as they made no more overtures’. Here we must supply with ξυνεστρατεύσατε either (1) αὐτοῖς, ‘though Lacedaemonian colonists you did not serve with them against us’: or (2) ἡμῖν, ‘you did not join us because you were Lacedaemonian colonists’. Either rendering gives good sense. In favour of (1), it is easier to supply αὐτοῖς from Λακεδαιμονίων than to understand ἡμῖν, and we also get a sharper antithesis to the following ὑμᾶς.

7. τὰ δυνατὰ...διαπράσσεσθαι—still dependent on ἀξιοῦμεν, ὑμᾶς being the subject. Classen holds that the subject is now

not merely *ὑμᾶς* but *έκάτεροι, ἀξιοῦμεν* being taken in a somewhat altered sense 'we think it right (for both of us) to endeavour to effect etc.' But this view weakens the force of the sentence, in which, from *οὗθ' ὑμᾶς*, the Athenians are dictating to the Melians the line which they expect them to take. The middle form *διαπράσσεσθαι* implies mutual arrangement.

8. *ἐπισταμένους πρὸς εἰδότας*—'since you know as well as we do'. *πρὸς* may be taken either with *διαπράσσεσθαι*, or generally in the sense of 'dealing with, having to do with'.

9. *ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ λόγῳ*—'in the language (or reasoning) of (practical) men', as opposed to the theories of philosophers and the dreams of fanatics: cf. ch. 111, 6, *ἀνθρωποι*: ch. 103, 9, *ἀνθρωπεῖως*: i. 76, 2, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου*: iii. 40, 1, *ἀμαρτεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως*.

ib. *ἀπό*—'from the standpoint of'; i. 21, 2, *ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῷ ἔργῳ σκοποῦσι*: or perhaps 'starting from', 'backed by'; i. 91, 4, *ἀπὸ ἀντιτάλον παρασκευῆς*: cf. ch. 103, 2. *ἀνάγκης*—probably active= 'power to compel'; i. 99, 1, *προσάγοντες τὰς ἀνάγκας*: but possibly 'cum sunt *ἐν τοις ἀνάγκης*'. Questions of justice may be argued, when both parties are equal in strength, but now it is not a question of abstract justice, but of practical possibilities.

10. *δυνατά*—what can be practically realized; 'but that is possible which the strong effect and the weak acquiesce in': or possibly *πράσσουσι* may mean 'exact'. For *πράσσουσι* the scholiast gives *προστάσσουσι*, which Dobree and Cobet would adopt; *πράσσουμεν* however is similarly used in ch. 105, 4. The neuter plural is the object of *ξυγχωροῦσιν*, as in ch. 41, 12.

## CHAPTER XC

The Melians urge that, even setting aside abstract considerations of justice, they may hope for fair treatment on the ground of general expediency.

1. *ἡ μὲν δή*—'as we think, at any rate, it is advantageous'. Some editors have *ἡμεῖς δή*, or *ἡμεῖς μὲν δή*, making *χρήσιμον* depend on *νομίζομεν*.

2. **ἀνάγκη γάρ**—‘we must needs take the ground of expediency’. **παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον**—‘setting aside, passing by the question of justice’. **ὑπέθεσθε**—‘lay down the principle’, ‘make expediency the basis of discussion’.

3. **τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν**—explained by what follows. It is the principle of equity, and reasonable consideration.

5. **εἶναι τὰ εἰκότα καὶ δίκαια**—‘that for him who from time to time is in danger (1) what is reasonable should be also considered just’; or (2) ‘he should have all that is reasonable and just’. (1) is supported by the absence of *καὶ* from the best manuscripts; while the scholiast’s explanation, **τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ τὰ δίκαια νέμεσθαι**, is in favour of (2), which also gives a more emphatic force to *εἶναι*.

Dobree is in favour of taking **τὰ εἰκότα κ.τ.λ.** as dependent, like **τι καὶ ἐντός**, on **πείσαντα**, ‘men in danger should be allowed, if they can plead what is reasonable and just, nay something even short of strict justice, to get the benefit thereof’.

For this force of *εἶναι* cf. iii. 39, 9, **ὅταν ἢ κατορθώσαντι ἐλευθέρωσις ἢ, ἢ σφαλέντι μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν**. Krüger and Stahl would omit **δίκαια**.

*ib.* **καὶ τι καὶ ἐντός**—‘something which even falls short of the strict letter’: Cic. *Ep. Fam.* ix. 26, 9, *non modo non contra legem sed intra legem*: so *cis, citra*; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 30, *veniam petens quod ei cis Plautios cis Vettios dissimulavisset*, ‘begging pardon for having hidden what he knew, so long as matters did not go beyond a Plautius and a Vettius’: *ib.* xii. 22, *ira Agrippinae citra ultima stetit*, ‘stopped short of extremities’.

*ib.* **τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς**—‘strict justice’; iv. 47, 1, **ῶστε ἀκριβῆ τὴν πρόφασιν γενέσθαι**.

6. **πείσαντα**—nearly all manuscripts have **πείσοντα**, which some editors retain as = *μέλλοντα πείσειν*, ‘if he has the prospect of getting accepted’; ‘although he may be destined to fail in making out a strict case’ (Jowett). But the slight alteration to the aorist is preferable, ‘quum utilitas perfecta demum persuasione effici possit’ (Poppo). With **πείσαντα** is connected the neuter accusative **τι** (iv. 17, 1, **ὅ τι ἀν πείθωμεν**), and also, if Dobree’s view be adopted, **τινα** as accusative of the object. Otherwise **τινα** is the subject of **ώφεληθῆναι**. For the use of **ώφελεῖσθαι**, cf. iii. 53, 3, **ἐπεισενεγκάμενοι μαρτύρια ὠφελούμεθ' αὐτοὺς**.

ib. πρὸς ὑμῶν—‘for your advantage’, ‘in your interest’; iv. 17, 2, τὰ πλειώ ὄρῳ πρὸς ἡμῶν δυτα. οὐχ ἡσσον—*litotes*. The following δσφ is connected with the comparative.

7. ἐπὶ μεγίστῃ τιμωρίᾳ—*ἐπὶ* seems here connected with **σφαλέντες**, to denote the conditions under which the Athenians would be defeated if such an event should take place; ‘having the heaviest vengeance to look for in case you should be overthrown’. So we say ‘standing to lose’ so much on a future event.

Krüger and Classen connect the words with **παράδειγμα ἀγένοισθε**, taking *ἐπὶ* to denote the accompanying circumstances and conditions; ‘you would, by the heavy vengeance which you would incur, become an example to others’. Others render ‘an example for inflicting vengeance’, meaning that the Athenians are setting a precedent which may be used against them if they fall. But the idea is rather that if punishment should hereafter fall on Athens it would be so heavy as to be a warning to all other nations against lawless ambition. For **παράδειγμα** in the sense of a warning example, which certainly seems the meaning here, cf. iii. 39, 3.

## CHAPTER XCI

The Athenians set aside general considerations. They are competent to look after their own interests. Now they are come with a definite purpose; and they urge that it is better for both sides that the Melians should submit to their power.

2. τὴν τελευτήν—an unusual accusative. It is explained by Classen as an extension of the adverbial construction, like **ἀποροῦντες ταῦτα** ch. 40, 16. There however **ταῦτα = ταύτας τὰς ἀπορίας**, and the accusative is cognate and ‘internal’; which is not the case with **τελευτήν** here. Poppe says ‘compara cum τρέμειν τι, φρίσσειν τι, φοβεῖσθαι τι, ἔκπλήσσεσθαι τι, Latinis tremere aliquid, horrere aliquid, similibus’. Elsewhere **ἀθυμεῖν** is connected with the dative; as in vii. 60, 5, τῷ κρατηθῆναι ἀθυμοῦντας. Here the dative would give a wrong sense, ‘we are cast down by’, and would imply that the **τελευτή** was a fact already reached, not merely a future possibility.

Herodotus has **ἀπορέοντι τὴν Ἑλαστιν** (iii. 4), and **ἀπορέοντι τῷ ἔξαγωγῇ** (iv. 179).

3. ὥσπερ καὶ—ch. 44, 10 : ch. 92, 2. οὐτοι—so iv. 44, 3, τοῖς δ' ἡμίσεσι τῶν Κορινθίων...τούτοις οὐ κατάδηλος ἡ μάχη ἦν. It has been suggested to read οὐτω, as in ch. 59, 20.

4. ξστι δέ—parenthetical ; οὐ γὰρ...οὗτοι δεινοί being answered by ἀλλ' ἦν, sc. οὗτοι δεινοί or τοῦτο δεινόν. Some editors put a stop before ξστι, making the opposition between οὐ πρός..., and ἀλλ' ἦν. The sense is against this, as it would imply that the Melians were already ὑπήκοοι and the Athenians ἀρξαντες, which was not the case. The insertion of a parenthetical clause is also thoroughly Thucydidean.

5. ὁ μγών=we are not now contending with Sparta: for a similar use of the article cf. ch. 101, 2 : ch. 110, 3.

6. αὐτοὶ ἐπιθέμενοι—cf. Cleon's arguments for punishing the Mytileneans, iii. 39 and 40. He especially insists on the danger arising from the unprovoked character of their insurrection ; ἐπέθεντο ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀδικούμενοι—προϋπάρξαντες ἀδικλας, etc.

7. ἀφείσθω—'let it be left to us'. κινδυνεύεσθαι—impersonal passive, as in i. 73, 2, ἐπὶ ὠφελίᾳ ἐκινδυνεύετο: so iv. 19, 1, διακινδυνεύεσθαι.

ib. ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ—the order is emphatic, 'that it is with a view to advantage we are here, the advantage that is of our empire', etc.

10. ἀπόνως—without the trouble of war. ἀρξαι—to become your lords'; so δουλεῦσαι 'to submit to your yoke', in the next chapter, ὑπακοῦσαι; ch. 93, etc. χρησίμως—with ἀμφοτέροις.

## CHAPTER XCII

1. χρησίμων—note the adjective with ξυμβαίη: vi. 34, 9, χρησίμωτατον ἀν ξυμβῆναι: so especially τοιοῦτος, i. 74, 1, τοιούτου ξύμβαντος τούτου: vii. 30 fin. etc. Here, ξυμβαίνειν may have the idea of coinciding interests.

2. ὥσπερ καὶ—so ch. 91, 3 : cf. ch. 13, 8 note.

## CHAPTER XCIII

The Athenians hint significantly enough that resistance is hopeless, and will involve terrible calamities.

2. γένοιτο—γίγνεσθαι here = *contingere, licere*. Krüger compares Xen. Anab. i. 9, 13, ἐγένετο καὶ Ἑλλῆνις καὶ βαρβάρων ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι: id. Cyr. vi. 3, 11, ὡς Ζεῦ μέγιστε, λαβεῖν μοι γένοιτο αὐτόν.

## CHAPTER XCIV

The Melians suggest the possibility of a strict neutrality on their part being acceptable.

1. ᾥστε δέ—‘but on condition that...would you not accept us?’ or ‘would you not accept such terms?’ For ᾥστε of conditions cf. ch. 17, 14: and for δέχομαι ch. 32, 24. ᾥστε δέ is the reading of some manuscripts but not of the majority. It is probably right, as δέ is used in a similar way in the beginning of cc. 96 and 98. If ᾥστε only be read, it goes with οὐκ ἀν δέξαισθε, on which the infinitive construction φίλους εἰσαὶ then depends: cf. i. 143, 2, οὐδεὶς ἀν δέξαιτο τὴν αὐτοῦ φεύγειν. The sentence is thus a timid suggestion on the part of the Melians, ‘so that...you would not agree to our being neutral’, or ‘would you not agree?’

3. δέξαισθε—so most editors for δέξοισθε, which has the best manuscript authority, and is retained by Classen. This would be a strange use of the future optative = οὐκ ἀν μέλλοιτε δέξεσθαι; ‘would you not be likely to accept us?’ No similar instance is quoted; indeed the future optative with ἀν is unknown. For its legitimate use see Goodwin § 128—134.

## CHAPTER XCV

The Athenians reply that to accept such an offer would be a manifest proof of weakness.

1. οὐ γάρ—= ‘no, for’ etc. δστον τῇ φιλίᾳ—in this extraordinary sentence φιλίᾳ does double duty, first as the subject

of the verb and then in apposition, while *τὸ μῖσος* corresponds appositionally to *ἡ ἔχθρα*, the order of *φιλία* and *ἔχθρα* being reversed. ‘Verba sic resolvenda sunt, ὅσον ἡ φιλία, ἡ μὲν ἀσθενεῖας παράδειγμα οὖσα, τὸ δὲ μῖσος...δηλούμενον’ (Poppo). Possibly *ἡ φιλία, ἡ μὲν* should actually be read for *ἡ φιλία μέν*: but more likely the sentence grew up in some such way as this—(1) *οὐ τοσοῦτον βλάπτει ἡ ἔχθρα ὑμῶν δόσον ἡ φιλία*: (2) *ὅσον ἡ φιλία, ἀσθενεῖας παράδειγμα οὖσα*: (3) *δόσον ἡ φιλία μὲν...τὸ δὲ μῖσος*, ‘your enmity does not injure us so much as your friendship, being on the one hand a proof of weakness, your hatred being etc.’

Cleon utters similar sentiments, e.g. iii. 39, 5, *πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἄνθρωπος τὸ μὲν θεραπεῦον ὑπερφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὑπεῖκον θαυμάζειν*: cf. *oderint dum metuant* (Krüger).

## CHAPTER XCVI

Are friendly relations then, ask the Melians, between you and the Greek islanders, an invariable proof of weakness? Is there no difference between strangers and your own colonists?

2. *τούς τε μὴ προστήκοντας*—‘those who have no connexion with you’, and on whom you have no claim. *ὅσοι...οἱ πολλοὶ...τινέσ*—a notable instance of appositional construction, ‘all who, being mostly colonists, and having revolted in some cases’; cf. iv. 62, 2, *πλείους ἥδη...ἐλπίσαντες ἔτεροι*.

4. *κεχειρώνται*—‘the verb does not apply strictly to *ἀποικοι*, but only to *τινέσ*, and under the influence of *ἀποστάντες* is used instead of a more general verb, such as *ἀρχονται*’ (Jowett).

ib. *ἐσ τὸ αὐτὸ τιθέασιν*—‘put under the same head, reckon together’; iv. 73, 2, *καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν νίκην δικαίως ἀν τιθεσθαι*: see Liddell and Scott, *τιθημι* B. ii. 3, for various phrases with *ἐσ*, *ἐν*, adverbs etc. In Latin we have a similar usage of *traho*, *ibidem traho*, *traho ad, in*; e.g. Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 4, 10, *ibidem una traho*, ‘I count it under the same head’.

## CHAPTER XCVII

No, reply the Athenians; our subjects are convinced that all such things are mere questions of material strength.

1. **δικαιώματα**—‘in plea of justice’, ‘rationes quibus suam causam tueantur’; i. 41, 1, **δικαιώματα τάδε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν**. The dative is not elsewhere in Thucydides found with **ἔλλειπαν**, which takes the genitive, i. 80, 4, **πολλῷ ἔτι πλέον τούτου ἔλλειπομεν** (where Krüger reads **τούτῳ**): ii. 61, 4, **τῆς ὑπαρχούσης δόξης ἔλλειπται**. The construction is however not unreasonable, as the dative denotes that *in which* the deficiency occurs; and a genitive of the person, **ἄλλων** or **ὑμῶν**, is virtually implied. It may also be supported by such constructions as ch. 72, 10, **τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ ἔλασσονθέντες**: so vi. 69, 1, **τῇ προθυμίᾳ ἔλλιπτεῖς**. Krüger suggests reading **ἔλλιπτεῖς** here. One manuscript has **δικαιώματα**, and this would go well either with the accusative or **οὐδετέροις**.

2. **κατὰ δύναμιν**—lit. ‘in accordance with’. It is a question of material strength and power, not of abstract justice. **περιγνεσθαι**=‘escape submission’; **ἔλευθέρους μένειν**, as explained by the scholiast.

3. **ἴω**—ch. 26, 13: i. 9, 7 etc. Thuc. and Hdt., also Xen. *Anab.* vii. 3, 10. **καὶ τοῦ** seems awkward; should it be **τοῦ καὶ**? Note aorist **ἀρξαὶ**, as in ch. 91, 10.

5. **νησιῶται ναυκρατόρων**—these words are put together for the sake of antithesis, **ναυκρατόρων** being dependent grammatically on **περιγένεσθε**, ‘especially as you are islanders while we are lords of the sea, weaker islanders too than others, should you not escape submission (get the better of us)’.

In vi. 82, 2, according to the manuscript reading, there is a still harsher construction, **ἥμεις Ιωνες ὄντες Πελοποννησίου Δωριεῦσι...ἐσκεψάμεθα δτῷ τρόπῳ ἡκιστα αὐτῶν ὑπακονσόμεθα**. There **Δωριεῦσι** is first put out of its place for the sake of antithesis, and then the construction changes. For the juxtaposition cf. vi. 6, 3, **Δωρῆς δὲ Δωριεῦσι...βοηθήσατες**.

## CHAPTER XCVIII

The Melians now point out the probable danger to Athens of her overbearing policy.

1. *ἐν δ' ἐκείνῳ*—either (1) ‘in the former case’, i.e. in the neutrality proposed in ch. 94; or (2) like *illud*, referring to what is coming, *ὅσοι γάρ κ.τ.λ.* (2) seems more probable, as *δέ* in this dialogue generally introduces a fresh point or suggestion. The meaning affects the sense to be given to *οὐ νομίζετε ἀσφάλειαν*, either (1) sc. *εἰναι*, ‘do you think there is no security?’, or (2) do you not take safety into consideration?’.

2. *δεῖ γάρ...πειθεῖν*—parenthetical. *αὐτὸς καὶ ἐνταῦθα*—as well as in the case suggested in ch. 90. *ἐκβιβάσαντες*—Classen reads *ἐκβιβάσαντες*, and *ἐκβιβάζοντες* in vi. 64, 1, with some mss. authority. *ἐκβιβάζω* however is not found before Plutarch (passive Soph. *Phil.* 1129), while *ἐκβιβάζω* has better classical authority, but only in its literal sense (vii. 39, 2: Hdt. vii. 130: Xen. etc.).

3. *τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ξυμφόρῳ*—‘to be subservient to your interests’; iv. 87, 2, *τῷ ὑμετέρῳ εὖντι βλάπτωνται*. *τὸ αὐτό* may be appositional with *χρήσιμον*, ‘at the same time’, like *idem*; as in iv. 17, 1, *ὅ τι ἀντί ὑμῶν τε ὠφέλιμον ὃν τὸ αὐτὸν πειθωμέν*. *ξυμβαίνοντος*—the regular participial construction with *τιγχάνω*. Poppe says ‘simul audi *χρήσιμον*’, as in ch. 92. *ξυμβαίνειν* is indeed used in the sense of turning out well, as in iii. 3, 3, *ἥν ξυμβῆ ἡ πείρα*, but *ὑμῶν ξυμβαίνοντος* by itself can scarcely mean ‘expedient for you’.

6. *μηδετέροις*—*μή* shows that *ὅσοι=εἴ τινες*: cf. ch. 110, 6. In ch. 30, 13, where definite persons are meant, *ὅσοι* is followed by *οὐ*. *πῶς οὐ*—‘must you not make them your enemies?’ *πολεμοῦσθαι* is elsewhere passive, as twice in i. 57, 1. Sometimes forms may come either from *πολεμοῦσθαι* or *πολεμεῖσθαι*, for instance *πολεμοῦνται*, iv. 20, 3.

8. *τάδε*—i.e. our case, what is doing here. Note the emphatic position of *ποτε*: they will feel that the day will come when they too will be assailed: vi. 78, 4, *τάχ' ἀντί τοις καὶ τοῖς ἔμοις ἀγαθοῖς ποτε βουληθεῖν αὐθίς φθονῆσαι*.

9. **καν τούτῳ**—‘herein’, i.e. hereby: slightly different ii. 8, 3; iv. 14, 2, etc. For **τι ἀλλο ἥ** see note on ch. 87, 2. **μεγαλύνετε**—‘strengthen’, in numbers etc.: in vi. 28, 2, of magnifying a crime. **μελλήσοντας**—In ch. 30, 4, we have the aorist infinitive following the present of **μέλλειν**: so vi. 30, 2. Many editors however adopt the correction **μελλήσαντας**, which is supported by the scholiast’s explanation **διανοηθέντας**.

11. **ἐπάγεσθε**—‘bring on yourselves’ as enemies; vi. 10, 1, **πολεμίους ἐπαγαγόσθαι**.

## CHAPTER XCIX

The Athenians reply that they do not fear the hostility of large powers so much as the insubordinate spirit of islanders.

2. **τῷ ἑλευθέρῳ**—dative of the cause, ‘from their freedom’, i.e. freedom from Athenian rule or the danger of it. The idea is that the mainland cities would be free from the feeling of imminent peril, which might at any time drive the islanders to desperate risks. Stahl suggests **τῶν ἑλευθέρων**, comparing vii. 44, 8, **ὅσοι ἦσαν τῶν προτέρων στρατιωτῶν**. **διαμελῆσις** is not found elsewhere: the verb occurs i. 142, 1 etc.

4. **ἀλλά**—following **οὐ** and the comparative; i. 83, 1, **ο πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπλων τὸ πλέον ἀλλὰ δακάνης**: so ii. 43, 2 etc.

ib. **τοὺς νησιώτας τέ πον**—Krüger alters **πον** into **τούς**, and the article seems certainly required; unless indeed **ἄναρκτος ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς** (sc. **ὄντας**) can be taken as a predicate.

5. **καὶ τοὺς ἥδη**—‘and those who are already exasperated by the constraint of our empire’. The subject allies are meant; see i. 76, 77, where the Athenians point out that the rule of sovereign states must needs be galling in time of war. Classen misunderstands this passage, taking **παροξυσμένους** to refer to the **ἄναρκτοι** who were ‘already made desperate’ by the ‘inevitable danger’ (**τῷ ἀναγκαῖῳ**) of Athenian empire. With this view he proposes to leave out **τέ** after **νησιώτας** and **τούς** before **ἥδη**. The next chapter however shows conclusively that **οἱ δουλεύοντες ἥδη** are meant.

6. **πλεῖστα ἐπιτρέψαντες**—Hdt. iii. 36, 1, *μὴ πάντα ἡλικίη καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτρεπε*: in both passages the verb appears to have an active force. Sometimes the accusative is not expressed, Hom. Il. x. 79, *ἐπέτρεπε γήραι λυγρῷ* (the only instance in Homer): Plat. Legg. 802 B, *τὰς ἐπιθυμίας*.

7. **ἔς προύπτον κίνδυνον**—Hdt. ix. 17, *προόπτω θανάτῳ δώσειν*: Aesch. etc. For the construction cf. ii. 100, 6, *ἔς κίνδυνον καθίστασαν*. Classen quotes other instances with *ἔς*.

## CHAPTER C

The Melians now urge that tame submission would be most dishonourable.

1. **ἡ που ἅρα**—‘surely then’; i. 142, 1, *ἡ που δῆ*, ‘much more’: vi. 37, 3, *ἡ πού γε δῆ*. For *ἅρα*, stating an inference subjectively, see Liddell and Scott. Note the emphatic force of *γε* twice in this sentence.

2. **μὴ παυθῆναι**—the infinitives express purpose and follow *τὴν παρακινδύνευσιν ποιοῦνται* (Goodwin § 770). *ἀρχῆς*—so iii. 40, 4, *παύεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς*. *παρακινδύνευσις* is only found here; the verb occurs twice in Thucydides, and is not uncommon elsewhere. The preposition gives the idea of reckless venture.

5. **πᾶν ἐπεξελθεῖν**—‘to do and suffer anything’ (Jowett). Xen. Anab. iii. 1, 18, *οὐκ ἀν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι*; ib. *πάντα ποιητέον*: Soph. O. T. 260, *ἐπὶ πάντ' ἀφίξομαι*. For the accusative construction, cf. i. 70, 4, *ἀν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐπεξέλθωσιν*. **πρὸ τοῦ δουλεῦσαι**—‘before submitting to your yoke’: or is *πρὸ* used of choice, as in ch. 36, 18?

## CHAPTER CI

Not so, reply the Athenians; honour does not require you to contend against hopeless odds.

1. **οὐκ, ἦν γε**—so iii. 66 fin. **ὅδγών**—‘you are not now contending’ etc.; see note on ch. 91, 4. The infinitives are explanatory of the purpose, as in ch. 100. **ἄπο τοῦ ἰσον**—opposed to *πρὸ τοὺς κρείσσονας πολλῷ*. **αἰσχύνην ὄφλεῖν**—‘to incur disgrace, forfeit honour’.

## CHAPTER CII

The Melians suggest that their case is not absolutely hopeless, as the chances of warfare are uncertain.

1. *τὰ τῶν πολέμων*—ii. 11, 3, ἀδηλα τὰ τῶν πολέμων: see also i. 78. *κοινοτέρας*—‘more impartial’; in which sense *κοινός* is applied to persons iii. 53, 2: *κανῆ* (perhaps) iv. 83, 4. ‘*κοιναὶ τύχαι* sunt casus, qui utrisque possunt accidere, adeoque incerti, ancipites, inexspectati, si accident potentioribus quae accidere posse non putares’ (Göller): Lys. ii. 10, *τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τύχας κοινὰς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων νομίζοντες*: Plut. Nic. 27, *κοιναὶ αἱ τύχαι τοῦ πολέμου*. So Hom. Il. xviii. 309, *ξυρὸς Ἐνιάλος, καὶ τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα*: cf. Cie. Sest. 5, 12, *communem martem belli metuenti*, where see Holden’s note.

2. *ἴστιν ὅτε*—‘at times’; see note on *ἴστιν γέ*, iv. 32, 3. *τὰς τύχας*—the fortunes, various phases of war, on several occasions; i. 78, 1: iv. 18, 4, *ὡς ἀν αἱ τύχαι ἴγγήσωνται*. *λαμβάνοντα*—apparently ‘receiving’ or ‘admitting of’. *ἔχοντα* might almost be substituted; but *ἔχω* would imply what is inherent and invariable, while *λαμβάνω* only suggests what sometimes happens. Classen cites vi. 86, 3, *ὅταν καιρὸν λάβωσιν*, ‘when they get an opportunity’, but this is not a similar usage.

ib. *ἢ κατά*—‘than might be expected from’, lit. ‘corresponding to’ etc.: i. 76, 3, *δικαιότεροι ἢ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν*. *εὐθύς* seems to belong to *ἀνέλπιστον*, as *ἴτι* does to *ἄπιστον*, but the position is ambiguous.

4. *μετὰ τοῦ δρωμένου*—so *μετὰ κυδίνων* commonly: vi. 16, 3, *ἐκ τοῦ δρωμένου*. For this use of the participle see note on ch. 9, 14: cf. ii. 63, 1, *τῆς πόλεως τῷ τιμωμένῳ βοηθεῖν*.

5. *όρθως*—with *στήνει*: some suggest *όρθούς* or *όρθοῖς*.

## CHAPTER CIII

The Athenians reply by urging the great danger the Melians incur by risking their all on one vague chance.

1. **κινδύνω παραμύθιον οὐσα**—the sense required is ‘an encouragement to risk’, rather than ‘a solace (relief) to danger’. Whether this meaning can be fairly derived from the dative construction is doubtful. It scarcely corresponds to such phrases as *δόσις θεοῖς* Plat. *Euthyph.* 17 c: *διακονία πόλει Rep.* 493 D: for we could not say *παραμυθεῖσθαι κινδύνω*, though we can say *διδόναι θεοῖς*. *παραμύθιον* is commonly found with the genitive, and Krüger here reads *κινδύνου*.

2. **ἀπὸ περιουσίας**—‘with plenty to fall back on’, not risking their all. For *ἀπὸ* see ch. 89, 9. **χρωμένους αὐτῇ**—lit. ‘having recourse to her’, or ‘associating with her’, hope being personified: Ar. *Vesp.* 1028, *τὰς Μούσας αἰσιν χρῆται*.

3. **βλάψῃ...καθεῖλεν**—the metaphor of *στήναι* in the last chapter is carried on; hope may ‘hinder’ such men, and check them in their course, but does not ‘lay them prostrate.’ **καθεῖλεν** is the gnomic aorist, which describes what generally happens because it has happened before; Goodwin § 155.

The following is from Dr Sandys’ note on Dem. *Lept.* 471, § 49, where *βλάπτουσιν* is immediately followed by *ἀσφαλῶς*. *βλάπτω* (though not from the same root as *λαμβάνω*) has in old Greek the special meaning of impeding, checking, arresting (*Il.* vi. 39: vii. 271 etc.). Hence it is combined with *φυγεῖν* in Soph. *El.* 697, *ὅταν δέ τις θεῶν βλάπτῃ δύναιτ’ ἀν οὐδ’ ἀν λοχύνων φυγεῖν*: and *Aj.* 455. Even in prose we have what may be fairly regarded as a reminiscence, possibly a half unconscious reminiscence, of the older use of the word: as in the present passage of Thucydides; and in vii. 68, 3, *κινδύνων οὗτοι σπανιώτατοι, οἱ ἀν ἥκιστα ἐκ τοῦ σφαλῆναι βλάπτοντες πλεῖστα διὰ τὸ εὐτυχῆσαι ὠφελῶσιν*.

*ib.* **τοῖς δ'...ἀναρριπτοῦσι**—‘but as for those who stake their all on the cast’, lit. throw the die, run the risk, so as to extend to their all: iv. 92, 4, *ἐς πᾶσαν εἰς ὅπος παγῆσεται*, ‘one limit will be fixed, extending to and including all our land’. With *ἀναρριπτοῦσι* is to be understood *κινδύνον*: iv. 85, 2: iv. 95, 1. Classen reads *ἀναρριπτοῦσα* agreeing with *ἐλπίς*, but the alteration does not seem to improve the grammar or the sense. *ἀναρριπτεῖν* is used of the person who incurs the risk, not of hope which causes it.

4. **δάπανος**—sc. *ἐλπίς ἐστιν*: according to Lid. and Scott, a rare form of the adjective, which is usually *δαπανηρός*. *ἄμα τε*—‘she is found out when they are ruined’ (lit. tripped up and brought to the ground), not before. *ἄμα* goes with the participle, which is in the genitive absolute, sc. *αὐτῶν*.

5. **καὶ...οὐκ ἔλλείπει**—most editors take *ἔλλείπει* transitively, ‘she leaves no room for one to guard against her afterwards when she is found out’, i.e. her delusive character is not found out till recovery is hopeless. In support of this view may be cited Soph. *El.* 736, *ἔλλειπμένον* ‘left in’: Eur. *El.* 609, *οὐδὲ ἔλλειπται ἐπιδίδη*, ‘nor have you left ground for hope’. So *προσέχω* is occasionally found in the sense ‘to have besides’, as in Plat. *Rep.* 521 D.

Poppo however takes *ἔλλείπει* here in its usual sense of failing, and *ἐν ὅτῳ* to mean ‘whilst’, as *ἐξ ὅτου* is used of time by Xenophon. This seems the simpler view; and the sense is excellent; that men continue to hope till their condition is desperate. On the other hand the future *φυλάξεται* seems more appropriate to a dependent relative construction.

6. **ὅ**—ch. 107, 3: 109, 3. **ἐπὶ ρωπῆς μᾶς**—Eur. *Hip.* 1164, *δέδορκε φῶς ἐπὶ σμικρᾶς ρωπῆς*: Soph. *Trach.* 82, *ἐν ρωπῇ τοιάδε κειμένω*. The metaphorical use of *ρωπή*, ‘a turn of the scale’, is frequent both in prose and verse.

7. **μὴ βούλεσθε παθεῖν**—‘do not let this be your case’: Plat. *Phaedr.* 236 c, *μὴ βούλον*: so *noli*, *nolite*. The whole phrase is equivalent to ‘do not you act thus unadvisedly’: see note on *παθεῖν*, iv. 17, 4.

8. **οἷς παρόν**—the usual form, not *οἱ*, *παρὸν* (*αὐτοῖς*): so in Latin, *cui cum nuntiatum esset, Romam advolavit*. For **δύθρωπεις** see note on ch. 89, 9. **καθίστανται**—‘betake themselves’ = *καταφεύγονται* (schol.).

12. **μετ' ἔλπιδων**—‘combined with hopes’, i.e. by encouraging vague hopes. **λυμαίνεται**—‘ruin men,’ ‘are their bane.’

## CHAPTER CIV

The Melians urge that their hopes are not absolutely unreasonable. Heaven will defend their righteous cause; and Sparta will aid them as allies and kinsmen.

3. *εἰ μὴ...ἴσται*—sc. *ἡ τύχη*: ‘if it shall not be impartial’. According to some *ἀγανίξεσθαι* is to be supplied, ‘if we shall not be able to contend’. *τῷ μὲν τύχῃ*—cf. ch. 112, 8, which suggests that the dative is governed by *πιστεύομεν*, the following infinitive being explanatory: otherwise we should naturally take it with *ἔλασσώσεσθαι*, as in ch. 72, 10, which would make the general construction of the sentence more regular.

5. *ὅστιοι*—only here of persons; ‘righteous’, observant of *τὸ δόσιον* (iii. 84, 2). *ἴσταμεθα*—‘we take our stand’; i. 53, 2, *ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν ἴστασθε ὅπλα ἀνταιρόμενοι*. Here *ἴστασθαι πρός* denotes opposition. Poppo points out that it generally has a different meaning, as in iv. 56, 4, *πρὸς τὴν ἑκείνων γνώμην ἴστασαν*.

6. *τῷ Ἑλλείποντι*—dependent on *προσέσεσθαι*, as is *ἡμῖν* though less directly, and with an ethical force. In illustration of the double dative, Krüger cites Eur. *Hel.* 1248, *τί σοι παράσχω δῆτα τῷ τεθνηκότι*; what service am I to do for you to the dead?

9. *αἰσχύνη*—=διὰ *τὸ αἰσχρόν*, ch. 105, 14: because they were bound in honour, as we should say.

## CHAPTER CV

The Athenians reply that they are doing nothing to forfeit the favour of heaven; and the Melians cannot trust for help the Spartan sense of honour.

1. *πρὸς τὸ θεῖον*—Krüger suggests *τοῦ θεῶν* and Meineke *περὶ τὸ θεῖον*. Classen however seems to give the right explanation. The Athenians are speaking not only of the favour they would receive from heaven, but of the general terms on which they stood with the divinity. Their relations with the gods were as good as any one's, for there was nothing unusual in their conduct. Relationship generally is expressed

by *πρὸς*, see note on iv. 80, 2: cf. iv. 51, *τοιησάμενοι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πιστεῖς*, etc. = ‘having secured pledges from the Athenians’: Dem. *de Cor.* 237 § 36, *τὴν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει*.

2. *οὐδὲν’ ἡμεῖς*—any more than you; an answer to *ὅτι δοῖοι πρὸς οὐ δικαίους ιστάμεθα*, ch. 104, 5.

3. *ἀνθρωπεῖς*—this adjective belongs to both nouns, ‘there is nothing in our claims or in our conduct beyond what men hold in regard to the divinity and will as regards themselves’: cf. ii. 44, 2, *οἱ ἀν τῆς εὐτρεπεστάτης λάχωσι...οἵδε μὲν τελευτῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ λύπης.* *νόμιστις*, which is only found here in Thucydides, is explained by *ἡγούμεθα δόξῃ* in the next sentence, and therefore denotes current belief and accepted opinion. Classen however follows the scholiast in understanding it of the observances of religion, *τὰ νεομοσμένα, τὰ εἰθισμένα.* *βούληστις*—‘will and purpose’, tending to policy and action, *ἡ εἰς ἀνθρώπους προαιρεσίς*, as the scholiast explains.

5. *ἡγούμεθα δόξῃ...σαφῶς*—‘we hold in point of opinion...as an obvious fact’. *διὰ παντός*—always, continually; i. 38, 1, etc. *θέντες*—cf. Hdt. vii. 8, *οὗτοι αὐτῷ κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεῖς, παραδεξάμενος τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι.* All this is an echo of the Athenian speech at Sparta in 432; see i. 76. Note the prominence of the participial clauses in this sentence.

10. *εἰδότες καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀν...ἄν*—*ἄν* is repeated ‘in a long sentence, to make the conditional force felt through the whole, especially when the connexion is broken by intermediate clauses. It may also be done in order to emphasize particular words with which it is joined, and to make them prominent, as being affected by the contingency’ (Goodwin, § 223).

11. *ἡμῖν*—i.e. the same that we have: so with genitive, as in iv. 92, 4, *ἐπικινδυνότερον ἔτέρων τὴν παροίκησιν τῶνδε ἔχομεν*, ‘than that of others’.

ib. *αὐτό*—‘it’ or ‘this’; cf. ch. 27, 4. Classen follows Stahl in reading *ταῦτα*.

13. *ἔλασσάστεσθαι*—this is a singular instance of the future infinitive with a verb of fearing. Here the construction

with  $\mu\eta$  might be expected; but probably the infinitive has to some extent the nature of an object = 'we regard without fear the prospect of coming off the worse'. Such instances as i. 136, 1, δεδίναι ἔχειν αὐτόν, 'to be afraid of keeping him', iv. 110, 3, κατέδεισαν ἐσελθεῖν, 'were afraid to enter', are different. There the infinitive denotes the direct object of the verb; and  $\mu\eta$  ἐσέλθωσιν, for instance, could not be substituted. See Goodwin, § 372 sq. As a general principle the future infinitive is a favourite Thucydidean usage when the intention is 'to make the reference to the future especially prominent'; Goodwin, § 113.

*ib.* τῆς...δόξης—dependent on both *τὸ ἀπειρόκακον* and *τὸ ἄφρον*: the subjective genitive *ὑμῶν* also belongs to both.

14. ήν...πιστεύετε—the conjecture ḡ is tempting, but the cognate construction is scarcely harsher than *βούλησιν ἐλπίζει*, vi. 78, 2: cf. ḁ ch. 9, 18. μακαρίσαντες—‘we felicitate you on your guilelessness but do not envy your folly’.

18. *πλειστα*—i. 3, 4, *πλειω χρώμενοι*: ii. 11, 5, *λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι*. *πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους*—dependent on *προσφέρονται*, and placed first to emphasize the antithesis.

19. πολλὰ ἄν—Poppo compares Dem. *Olynth.* iii. 36, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ, πόλλα' ἄν ἔχων εἰπεῖν: de Chers. πάντα τὰλλ' εἰπὼν ἄν ηδέως. ξυνελών—iii. 40, 4, ἐν δὲ ξυνελών λέγω, etc. ὅν τσμεν—i. 18, 1, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὃν τσμεν χρόνον.

22. πρός—‘in favour of’; ch. 90, 6. ἀλόγου—which you cannot reasonably expect; cf. Dem. *Aristocr.* 672 § 158, τυγχάνει ταύτης τῆς ἀλογού καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτου σωτηρίας. This clause answers the end of the last chapter. ή τοιαύτη διάνοια—such principles as these.

CHAPTER CVI

But, say the Melians, their own interest will make the Spartans help us.

1. κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτο—‘in accordance with this very thing’, or ‘on this very point’, that is the Lacedaemonians’ regard to

their interests: Soph. *Phil.* 438, *κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτό γε ἀναξίου μὲν φωτὸς ἔξερήσομαι*. ηδη—apparently ‘now that we are come to this point’: Krüger suggests δὴ. καὶ μάλιστα—ch. 73, 21.

2. *τῷ ξυμφέροντι αὐτῶν*—probably dependent on *πιστεύομεν*, as a similar construction occurs in 104, 4: 111, 6: 112, 8. It may however be taken with the following words, as dative of the cause, like *τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ*, ch. 99, 2. *αὐτῶν* has been proposed, but Classen justly points out that *τῷ αὐτῶν ξυμφέροντι* would be required; see note on ch. 71, 3. Why not connect *αὐτῶν* with *ἄποικος δῆτας*? It would give a forcible sense.

4. *καταστήναι*—to make themselves, put themselves in a certain position. It implies something more permanent than *γενέσθαι*.

## CHAPTER CVII

The interests of the Spartans will not lead them into danger.

1. *οὐκούν οἴεσθε*—‘you do not then think’, i.e. you seem to forget; so most editors; Classen makes the sentence interrogative, ‘do you not think?’ i.e. of course you do. *μετὰ κινδύνου δρᾶσθαι*—simply ‘involve danger (in doing)’. Poppe takes *οἴεσθε* as = *οἴεσθε δεῖν*, a force which some give to *νομίζειν* iv. 86, 4: iv. 117, 1. In those passages however no such sense is required, and here it is entirely out of place. For *δρᾶσθαι* the reading of nearly all mss. is *δρᾶσαι*. Jowett would retain this, supplying *τινά* as subject.

## CHAPTER CVIII

Their interests, say the Melians, will surely impel them to stand by their own colony.

1. *καὶ*—emphasizes *κινδύνους*. The following *τε* is suspicious. Classen, comparing ch. 82, 16, considers that it connects the two infinitive clauses.

2. ἐγχειρίσασθαι—‘undertake’; the middle is not found elsewhere before Dio Cassius.

3. **βεβαιωτέρους**—‘will consider such risks less hazardous than (if undertaken) in the case of others’. **βέβαιος** seems a strange word to apply to **κίνδυνος**: cf. however iii. 39, 6, **τὸν μετὰ τῶν δλίγων κίνδυνον ἡγησάμενοι βεβαιώτερον**. So we say ‘a safe speculation’. **ἐς** is used by Thucydides in the most general way to denote relation of any kind. Krüger and Poppe suggest leaving out **ἐς**, referring **βεβαιωτέρους** to **ἡμᾶς**, but the parallel passage supports the text.

4. **τὰ ἔργα**—the operations which war would involve. **τῆς γνώμης τῷ ξυγγενεῖ**—lit. ‘from kinship of views’; being of the same stock they had the same interests and policy. **γνώμη** is used of political views, iv. 56 fin. **πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην ἔστασαν**, etc. The expression is awkward, and it is tempting to take **τῷ ξυγγενεῖ** separately; in which case we must read **τῇ γνώμῃ** or **τὴν γνώμην**, for, though *certus animi* is good Latin, *πιστὸς γνώμης* is unknown in Greek.

## CHAPTER CIX

Not so, when they have no prospect of support in the event of war.

1. **τὸ ἐχυρόν**—‘security’; predicate with the article: ii. 43, 4, **τὸ εὐδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον τὸ δὲ ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὐψυχον κρίναντες**: Plat. *Gorg.* 498, **τὰ ἀγαθὰ φῆς εἶναι τὰς ἡδονὰς κακὰ δὲ τὰς ἀνίας** (Krüger’s *Grammar*, § 50, 4, 14).

2. **ἀλλ' ἦν**—so ch. 91, 5. **τῶν ἔργων δυνάμει**—i. 25, 4, **χρημάτων δυνάμει**: i. 82, 2, **ναυτικοῦ ἢ χρημάτων δύναμιν**. Here the genitive= **τῶν πρὸς τὰ ἔργα**.

3. **ὅ**—ch. 103, 6. **καὶ πλεῖόν τι**—**καὶ** emphatic, as in ch. 73, 21. **πλέον** and **πλεῖον** are often used for **μᾶλλον**, **τὸ πλέον** is more common. **τι** has an intensive force, as in **μέρος τι**, etc.: so vii. 21, 4, **πλέον τι περιεστομένους**.

5. **καὶ μετὰ ξυμμάχων**—lit. ‘(not alone but) also with’ etc. So in the speech of Pericles, ii. 39, 2, **Λακεδαιμόνιοι...μετὰ πάντων ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύονται**.

7. εἰκός...περαιωθῆναι—i. 81 fin. εἰκός δούλευσαι: where Krüger collects the instances of this construction, and observes that the future infinitive is not found with εἰκός in Thucydides.

## CHAPTER CX

But they may use the help of naval allies, and may themselves attack the Athenian dependencies.

1. ἀλλοι—e.g. the Corinthians, their chief naval allies, ii. 9, 2. πολὺ δέ—vii. 13, 3, πολλὴ δὲ ἡ Σικελία: Plat. *Phaed.* 78A, πολλὴ ἡ Ἑλλας. The 'Cretan Sea' (iv. 53 fin.) is the sea E. and S.E. of Laconia. δι' οὐ—i. 2, 1, οὐτε κατὰ γῆν οὐτε διὰ θαλάσσης.

2. τῶν κρατούντων...ἢ σωτῆρία—cf. the use of the article ch. 91, 4. The lords of the sea will find it harder to catch their foes than the foes to effect their escape. For the form *ἀπώρτερος* cf. iii. 89, 4, *βιαιότερον τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν*: iii. 101, 2, δυσεβολώτατος ἡ Λοκρίς. Krüger says that these are the only instances he knows in Attic prose; *εὐσκεπτωτέρατον*, ch. 71, 9, being neuter.

6. δσοις μή—indefinite, such as came under this description, ch. 98, 6; so in the next line. ἐπῆλθεν—'visited', not 'attacked': iv. 85, 1, εἰ δὲ χρόνῳ ἐπῆλθομεν, μηδεὶς μεμφθῇ. in Brasidas' speech at Acanthus: ib. § 3, ἐπὶ οὐς πρῶτον ἦλθον ὑμᾶς.

8. ξυμμαχίδος τε καὶ γῆς—these words are found in all the manuscripts, and it is therefore improbable that they are merely interpolated. They seem rather added by the historian as a further explanation of *οἰκειοτέρας*. ξυμμαχίς occurs in ch. 36, 1.

## CHAPTER CXI

The Athenians reply that such threats will not deter them. They urge on the Melians the immediate necessity of taking a practical view of their interests. They have no real grounds to hope for escape; and their only safe course is to accept the reasonable terms which Athens offers.

1. **τούτων μέν**—‘you too may learn by experience something of this’, i.e. of the hopelessness of deterring us by threats of counter-attacks or invasion. The construction resembles ii. 60, 1, *προσδεχομένω μοι τὰ τῆς δργῆς γεγένηται*: iv. 28, 5, *ἀσμένοις ἐγίγνετο*: ii. 3, 2, *τῷ πλήθει οὐ βουλομένω ἦν*. So *πεπειραμένω γίγνεται*=it is a thing that one has experienced; the perfect implying that knowledge comes when the experience has been undergone. **τούτων** refers either to the suggested threats of the Melians or to the Athenian boast, *ὅτι οὐδὲ κ.τ.λ.* **καὶ ὑμῖν**—as well as to others before you.

Stahl and Classen read *γένοιτο ἡμῖν*, **καὶ ὑμῖν**, ‘if such a thing (as invasion) occurred it would be one of which *we* have experience, and *you* too may not be unaware etc.’

2. **οὐδὲν ἀπὸ μιᾶς**—emphatic; it is the only instance of *οὐδεὶς* or *μηδεὶς* separated in Thucydides. In i. 105, and iii. 26, we find sieges continued by the Athenians in spite of counter-demonstrations.

4. **ἐνθυμούμεθα**—according to Classen, ‘we observe with regret’; the word at any rate always implies serious consideration. **φήσαντες**—‘after you professed’; cf. *φάσκοντες* ch. 42, 21.

6. **ἄνθρωποι**—see ch. 89, 9. **νομίσειαν**—Classen reads this instead of *νομίσαιεν* as the proper Thucydidean form; so iii. 49, 2, *φθάσειαν* for *φθάσαιεν*.

7. **ὑμῶν...μέλλεται**—‘your strongest grounds are hopes deferred’ (Jowett). **μέλλεται**, lit. ‘are a future matter’, the passive as it were of **μέλλετε ταῦτα** cognate. The passive of **μέλλω** occurs twice besides; Dem. *Phil.* i. 50, § 37, *ἐν δσφ ταῦτα μέλλεται*, ‘are going to be done’: Xen. *Anab.* iii. 1, 47, *ὡς μὴ μέλλοιτο ἀλλὰ περαίνοιτο τὰ δέοντα*. Krüger cites also Soph. *O. T.* 1628, *πάλαι τάπει σοῦ βραδύνεται*.

8. **βραχέα...περιγγεσθαι**—**πρός** is closely connected with **βραχέα**, ‘slight in comparison with’; ii. 35, 2, *ἐνδεεστέρως πρὸς ἀ βούλεται*. For the following infinitive cf. i. 50, 5, *νῆες δλίγας ἀμύνειν*: i. 61, 2, *ταπεινὴ ἡ διάνοια ἐγκαρπεῖν*. Such explanatory infinitives are particularly joined with adjectives which imply ability or the opposite (Goodwin, § 758). They have in effect a sort of comparative force=βραχύτερα ἡ ὥστε.

9. πολλήν τε—‘and so’, summing up the argument. μεταστησάμενοι—‘after bidding us withdraw’, in order to reconsider the matter among yourselves: i. 79, 1, μεταστησάμενοι πάντας ἔβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς. Ετι—‘as even now you may’ (Jowett). The word affects the whole clause, but its position gives especial emphasis to the participle, deprecating an immediate decision. δύως, ἀμα and the like are similarly used.

12. οὐ γάρ δή—introducing the final exhortation; cf. i. 122 (fin.), οὐ γάρ δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστοις δὴ βλάψασαν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρίκατε: in both sentences the stress falls on the noun, which is the last word but one. αἰσχροῖς—‘dangers which involve shame’, i.e. which threaten rational honour, and which it would be shameful to decline. This is the accepted explanation, but it is not quite satisfactory, as, though the various phrases of ‘shame’ and ‘shameful’ naturally follow the emphatic αἰσχύνην, they have no particular force before it. ἐσχάτοις, ἄκροις, ισχυροῖς are suggested emendations.

14. πολλοῖς γάρ—‘for many have found’ etc.; the Thucydidean initial dative. In construction πολλοῖς and ἡσθεῖσι are usually taken as dependent on ἐπεσπάσατο, and ἔκόντας περιπετεῖν as the direct object of ἐπεσπάσατο. But ἐπισπάσασθαι more naturally means ‘drawing on a person to’ a course of action, than ‘bringing a thing on a person’. It may be then that the grammatical object of the verb is to be found in πολλοῖς, the construction being changed, and the literal meaning being ‘in the case of many...it drew them on to incur’. The middle ἐπεσπάσατο is decidedly in favour of this view; and it is adopted by Donaldson, who says ‘this use of the dative may be extended to cases where the construction would have admitted of the accusative’. He translates ‘in the case of many still foreseeing the tendency of their actions, that which is called dishonour has been an inducement to involve themselves in irremediable disasters’. The aorist is ‘gnomic’ and general like καθεῖτε, ch. 103, 3.

15. ἐσ ola φέρονται—‘what they are rushing on’ or tending towards; φέρεσθαι, like *ferri*, being the regular word for *moving*; see note on iv. 34, 3, ὥπο τοξευμάτων φερομένων. ἐπαγωγοῦ—ch. 85, 4: iv. 88, 1, διὰ τὸ ἐπαγωγὴ εἰπεῖν τὸν Βρασίδαν. ἐπεσπάσατο—see previous note. The sense required, according to the ordinary view of the clause, is ‘brought on them’ and there seems then some ground for the conjecture ἐπέσπασε τό. In Hdt. iii. 42, ἵνα ἐπισπάσωνται κέρδος, is ‘to win gain for

themselves', and here it may be said that the meaning is 'many have found...that it has won for them' etc., i.e. that this is all they gain by it'. In the other passages of Thucydides where the middle is found it has its proper force, iii. 44, 4: iv. 9, 2. We find the passive, iii. 89, 5: iv. 130, 4.

17. **ἡσηθεῖσι τοῦ ρήματος**—‘esse ipsum turpitudinis vocabulum docet articulus’ (Poppo). For gen. cf. iv. 37, 1, *εἰ πως ἡσηθεῖν τοῦ δεινοῦ*. Note the antithesis between **δόνματος** and **ρήματος** and the following ἔργῳ. **καὶ αἰσχύνην**—lit. ‘and incur too a shame which is more shameful as involving folly than from fortune’, i.e. than if it had been due to fortune. **μετά**—like **μετὰ κινδύνων** etc.

19. **ἢ τύχης**—the scholiast has **τύχη**, which, as Poppo says, ‘propter orationem variatam valde Thucydideum est’. There is however no authority for reading it in the text. The preposition is omitted in the second clause, as is common after a comparative; cf. iii. 44, *περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος μᾶλλον βουλεύεσθαι ἢ τοῦ παρόντος*: viii. 96, 2, ἐξ ἣς πλείω ἢ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὀφελοῦντο. Other instances are given by Poppo on vii. 47, 4, and in Krüger’s Grammar, § 68, 9: e.g. Xen. *Hel.* ii. 3, 21, *οἱ τριάκοντα πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. προσλαβεῖν*—‘to bring on themselves’ rather than ‘to get in addition’; so iv. 61, 1, with **κινδύνους**.

*ib.* δὲ **ὑμεῖς**—ch. 103, 6. **τῆς μεγίστης**—for this emphatic order cf. ch. 18, 57; ii. 61, 4, **ξυμφορᾶς ταῖς μεγίσταις**: iv. 10, 1, **κινδύνου τοῦ ταχίστου**. **ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι**—explanatory infinitive, defining the terms proposed.

23. **ὑποτελεῖς**—sc. **φόρου**, as is expressed in i. 19, 1, and i. 80, 3. This was the condition of the great majority of the Athenian so-called allies. See i. 96—99, and the words of Euphemus, vi. 85.

*ib.* **καὶ...φιλονεικῆσαι**—**καὶ** answers to **τε**; the whole clause therefore depends on **οὐκ ἀπρεπὲς νομεῖτε**. **τὰ χερῶ**—cognate, with **φιλονεικῆσαι**, ‘obstinately to choose the worse’: Dem. *Lept.* 501, § 144, **μηδὲν φιλονείκει**. So we have **προθυμεῖσθαι, σπεύδειν τι** etc. In Plat. *Protag.* 360 **ε**, we have **φιλονεικεῖν τὸ ἐμὲ εἶναι τὸν ἀποκρινόμενον**, ‘to stickle for the answer coming from me’ (Wayte): but **πρός** is inserted in the same phrase, *Rep.* 338 **λ**, in accordance with the usual construction. *Phileb.* 14 **β**, has **πρός** (wrongly cited by Liddell and Scott). The form of

the word, which according to Cobet and others should be *μικρός*, is discussed in Liddell and Scott under *φιλόνεικος*.

26. *καλῶς προσφέρονται*—‘behave with propriety’, i.e. with due deference.

28. *καὶ μεταστάντων ἡμῶν*—‘etiam semotis nobis, non solum praesentibus’ (Poppe). The Athenians deprecate a rash and hasty decision, as in line 10: so infr. *πολλάκις*.

30. *ἡν μᾶς πέρι*—Poppe calls this ‘locus desperatus’; and there is in fact no satisfactory explanation or correction as yet proposed. The general sense is plain: The Melians are exhorted to reflect that they are deliberating concerning the only country they have, and that its fate will be determined by one single decision.

There is very little difference in the manuscript readings. For *ἡν* one manuscript has *ἢν*, and another *ἢν*. One omits *ἢν μᾶς πέρι*. For *ἔσται* are found *ἴστη* and *ἴσταται*. Thus the first and last words are those which are most open to doubt. Possibly both these words are interpolations. Assuming that *ἢν* found its way into the text from some error, it would be necessary to supply a verb to govern it, and this would account for the variation in the final word. Omitting *ἢν* and *ἔσται* we get a sentence which can be construed, ‘reflect that you are deliberating about your country, your one only country, and this in one deliberation, as it may turn out well or ill’. Further discussion of the passage may be found in the Appendix.

ib. *ἐσ μίαν βουλήν*—‘in’ or ‘at one deliberation’; an idea of ‘coming to’ or ‘looking to’ being implied. See Liddell and Scott, *eis* ii. 2, for such phrases as *ἐσ καιρὸν ἐπείγεσθε* (*Hdt. iv. 139*), which have some resemblance to the present instance: cf. *Thue. vi. 16, 6, Λακεδαιμονίους ἐσ μίαν ἡμέραν κατέστησα... ἀγωνίσασθαι*.

31. *τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν*—‘according to its success or failure’, i.e. according as you decide well or ill. *τε* and *καὶ* are here disjunctive as noted on ch. 15, 6: cf. ii. 35, 2, *εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι*. *τυχοῦσαν* is opposed to *μὴ κατορθώσασαν*, as in iii. 39, 7, *τυχόντες το σφαλέντες, κατορθώσαντι* occurring just before in antithesis to *σφαλέντι*. The active form is regularly used of persons, as an object (*πέραν, βούλευμα* etc.) is implied, *κατορθοῦν* meaning literally to bring

one's design to a successful issue. Here, taking the reading of the text, the active must go with *βουλήν*. I rather doubt if this can be right: we should expect the passive, as in iv. 76, 4, *εἰ κατορθοῖτο ἡ πείρα*.

## CHAPTER CXII

The Melians finally refuse to submit, or to concede anything more than a pledge of neutrality.

1. *μετεχώρησαν*—‘withdrew’; ii. 72, 5. *ἐκ τῶν λόγων*—‘from the conference’; so ch. 113, 2: iv. 58, 1, *ἐς λόγους κατέστησαν ἀλλήλοις*: iv. 73 fin. *ἐς λόγους ἔρχονται*. *κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς*—i. 79, 2, *μεταστησάμενοι πάντας ἐβούλευντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς*: iii. 78, 1, etc.

3. *παραπλήσια καὶ*—vii. 71, 7, *παραπλήσια καὶ ἔδρασαν*: so *καὶ* follows *ἴσος* and other words of sameness or likeness; cf. *similis atque, ac, etc.* *ἀντέλεγον*—imperfect, referring to the time of the conference; lit. ‘what they had been objecting’.

6. *ἐπτακόσια ἔτη*—a rough statement, counting from the supposed time of the establishment of Dorian supremacy in Peloponnesus, the legendary ‘return of the Heracleidae’. Melos is said to have been founded some little time later; Grote, Pt. i. ch. 18.

8. *ἐκ τοῦ θείου*—constructed with *σωζούσῃ*, and placed immediately after *τύχη* to define its meaning. See ch. 104, 4: 105, 1. In this sentence there is perhaps the same difference between *ἐξ* and *ἀπό*, denoting respectively motion from within and motion from the surface, which is noted by Donaldson on iv. 126, 3.

9. *καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων*—*καὶ* either = *atque*, ‘and especially’; or more probably it gives a definition ‘even the Lacedaemonians’. This defining or correcting sense of *καὶ*, = ‘in fact, that is to say’, is noticed on ch. 20, 3: iv. 33, 1. Jowett says, ‘the desire to oppose the single idea *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* to *ἐκ τοῦ θείου* has led to a formal distinction between *ἀνθρώπων* and *Λακεδαιμονίων*, ‘from men, and in particular from Lacedaemonians’. *τιμωρίᾳ*—‘help’; so three times in i. 25: i. 38, 3 etc.

11. **προκαλούμεθα δὲ ὑμᾶς**—**προκαλεῖσθαι** with the accusative and infinitive is to invite another to do something. Here the regular construction is interrupted by the insertion of a nominative clause, referring to the subject of the sentence, the whole, as Classen says, being equivalent to **προκαλούμεθα ὑμᾶς, ήμῶν φίλων δυτιῶν κ.τ.λ., ἀναχωρῆσαι**. Krüger cites two somewhat similar sentences in which the last clause refers to the subject; i. 26, 3, **προεῖπον τοὺς ξένους ἀπιέναι, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς πολεμίοις χρήσεσθαι**: Hdt. ii. 115, **αὐτὸν δέ σε καὶ τοῖς σοῦ συμπλόους προαγορεύω μετορμίζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἄτε πολεμίους περέψεσθαι**.

14. **ἐπιτήδειοι**—elsewhere **ἐπιτήδειος** has three terminations, though a few manuscripts have **ἐπιτηδείος** in ch. 21, 9.

### CHAPTER CXIII

The Athenians accordingly break up the conference with significant threats.

2. **διαλυόμενοι ἐκ**—vi. 41 fin. **διελύθησαν ἐκ τοῦ ξιλλόγου**: Hdt. iii. 73, **διαλύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου, ἀλλ' οὖν**—‘well then’, ‘well certainly’: ‘sunt particulae contra dicendi cum asseveratione, at projecto’ (Poppo). So Plat. *Protag.* 310 A, **ἀλλ' οὖν ἀκούετε**, ‘well then, hear’. **ἀλλ' οὖν** (with **γε** commonly following) more usually means ‘but, or yet, at any rate’, as in Plat. *Protag.* 327 c: Soph. *Ant.* 84. Poppo cites Xen. *Cyr.* i. 4, 19, **ἀλλ' οὖν πονηροί γε φανόμενοι ἀγονοὶ ήμῶν τὰ χρήματα**, in illustration of the present passage, but there the sense seems rather ‘well but they look but a poor lot to plunder our belongings’.

3. **ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν βούλευμάτων**—‘from’, i.e. judging from; i. 21, 2, **ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι**: cf. ch. 89, 9. **δοκεῖτε**—ch. 9, 21, note.

6. **τῷ βούλεσθαι**—dative of the cause: cf. a somewhat similar passage in iv. 108, 3, **τὸ πλέον βούλησει κρίνοντες ἀσφεῖ η προνοίᾳ ἀσφαλεῖ κ.τ.λ.**

7. **καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις**—the omission of the article gives a somewhat contemptuous force, ‘Lacedaemonians and fortune

and hopes': see note on iv. 10, 4. *παραβεβλημένοι*—usually taken as middle, 'having staked, or risked'. *ἐπιτρέψαντες παραβόλως*, as the scholiast explains. In this sense the word is used ii. 44, 3, *παιδας παραβαλλόμενοι*: iii. 14, 1, *τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν σωμάτων παραβαλλομένους*. Stahl however takes the word as passive, comparing Ar. *Plut.* 243, *πόρναισι καὶ κύβοισι παραβεβλημένος*, 'given over to'. The sense thus obtained is not bad; still, as the idea of risk and hazard perpetually occurs in these chapters, the ordinary rendering seems preferable. The perfect participle denotes the general attitude of the Melians, the aorist *πιστεύσαντες* refers to their decision in the present case. Classen would omit *καὶ* before *πιστεύσαντες*, 'having risked everything from your trust' etc., as he considers that the datives cannot depend on *παραβεβλημένοι*.

†

## CHAPTER CXIV

3. *οὐδὲν ὑπήκοον*—'showed no sign of submission'; i. 26. 4, *οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπήκοονσαν*. *ἐτρέποντο...περιετείχισαν*—Arnold compares ii. 75, 1, *καθίστη ἐς πόλεμον τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν περιεσταύρωσεν αὐτούς*. Some editors read *ἐτράποντο*, with slight manuscript authority; but the imperfect is preferable, denoting the beginning and progress of hostile operations.

4. *διελόμενοι*—ch. 75, 23, *διελόμενοι...περιετείχιζον*. Note the different tense of the following verb in the two passages. Here, the aorist *περιετείχισαν* gives an 'end-view', and the Athenians are regarded as having completed their lines round the city. *κατὰ πόλεις*—ii. 78, 1, *διελόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις τὸ χωρίον*. *κατὰ γῆν κ.τ.λ.*—to be taken with *φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες*.

## CHAPTER CXV

1. *'Αργεῖοι*—see ch. 83, 12, for a previous attempt. *τὸν χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν*—'attende rariorem collocationem pronominis ὁ αὐτός: cf. vii. 39, 1, *τῇ ἐπιχειρήσει τῇ αὐτῇ*: Dem. *de Chers.* 93, 14, *μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς δυοῖς τῆς αὐτῆς*: Xen. *Cyr.* iv. 4, 10' (Poppe). Krüger cites i. 140, 1: and i. 2, 2, *ἄνθρωποι οἱ αὐτοί*.

2. **λοχισθέντες**—iii. 107, 3, **λοχίζει ὄπλίτας**, ‘stations them in ambush’. Here the word is used like **λοχᾶν**, as in one or two instances cited by Liddell and Scott from Dio Cassius.

4. **ώς ὁγδοήκοντα**—the same construction as in ch. 59, 7: cf. also ch. 10, 57. **οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου**—ch. 56, 13. As Pylos was now chiefly held by Lacedaemonian Helots, Krüger would omit **Αθηναῖοι**, but it denotes generally those who acted on the Athenian side.

7. **οὐδὲ ὡς**—‘not even after this’: so i. 132, **οὐδὲ ὡς ἡξίωσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτὸν** etc. **καὶ ὡς**, i. 44, 2: iii. 33, 1. The negative belongs to both the verb and the participle;—they did not throw up the truce and begin a war. **ἀφέντες**—ch. 78, 8. The truce between Athens and Sparta was not considered to be actually broken till 414, when an Athenian fleet ravaged the coast of Peloponnesus (vi. 105, 1).

ib. **ἐκήρυξαν δὲ εἰ τις**—sc. that he should do so, see Poppo on iii. 52, 2: cf. iv. 37, 2, **ἐκήρυξάν τε εἰ βούλουστο τὰ δύλα παραδοῖναι**. **παρὰ σφῶν**—i.e. from Lacedaemonia: ii. 41, 1, **παρ' ἡμῶν**. **λητεσθαί**—private depredations of this kind were not considered incompatible with a formal state of peace.

9. **διαφορῶν**—‘differences’, from **διαφορά**, the manuscript reading. Bekker and others alter it into **διαφόρων**, as **τὰ ίδια διάφορα** is found ii. 37, 1: **τὰ αὐτοῖς ίδια διάφορα**, i. 68, 2: **τὰ ἡμῶν διάφορα**, iv. 87, 1: see ch. 18, 19.

12. **τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν**—i.e. the market in the Athenian camp, where their supplies were stored; i. 62, 1, at Potidaea, **ἀγοράν ἔχω τῆς πόλεως ἐπεκοίηντο**: iii. 6, at Mytilene, **ναύσταθμον ἦν αὐτοῖς πλοιῶν καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἡ Μαλέα**.

13. **ἄνδρας**—iv. 132, 3, **τῶν ἡβώντων ἄνδρας ἔξῆγον**: vii. 43, 3, **ἄνδρας τῶν φυλάκων ἀποκτείνουσιν**. **ἐστενεγκάμενοι**—so **ἐσκομῇσθαι**, vi. 22, 1. **χρήσιμα**—the mss. reading is **χρήμασι**: hence some read **χρήματα** in the general meaning of supplies: so vi. 49, 3, **τὴν στρατιὰν οὐκ ἀπορήσειν χρημάτων**: vii. 49, 1, **τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀπορίαν**.

16. **τὸ ἔπειτα**—so iv. 54, 3, **τό τε παραντίκα καὶ τὸ ἔπειτα τὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐπράχθη**: iv. 107, 1, **καὶ τὸ αἰτίκα καὶ τὸ ἔπειτα**.

## CHAPTER CXVI

2. **μελλήσαντες**—‘having intended’; i. 134, 4, **ἐμέλλησαν μὲν...ἔπειτα.** viii. 23, 5, **πεξὸς δις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐμέλλησεν λέναι.** **τὰ διαβατήρια ιερά**—cf. ch. 54, 6. Cobet would omit **ιερά ἐν τοῖς ὄροις** as an explanatory gloss, such words not being added elsewhere. For **ἔγιγνετο** see ch. 55, 17.

5. **διὰ τὴν ἔκεινων μέλλησιν**—i.e. hearing of their intended attack. **ὑποτοπήσαντες**—altered by Meineke into **ὑποτεύσαντες**, as **ὑποτοπεῖν** is not found with an accusative of the person. Possibly it may stand in the sense of ‘having formed a suspicion’, **τινᾶς** being governed by **ξυνέλαβον** and then resolved into **τοὺς μὲν...οἱ δέ**: cf. ch. 54, 16.

8. **αὐθίς**—the best manuscripts have **αὐτίς**, which is also found in some manuscripts in ch. 8, 18, and ch. 43, 18. Lid. and Scott call it a form erroneously introduced into Attic authors.

ib. **καθ' ἔτερόν τι**—apparently **καθ'** **ἔτερον** is governed directly by **εἶλον**, and is equivalent to a single word; as in iv. 3, 2, **ἐμπρήσαντὸς τίνος κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς ὥλης**: so ii. 76, 4, **ἐπὶ μέγα κατέσεισε**: see note on iv. 3, 2. Otherwise **περιτειχίσματος** may be regarded as a partitive genitive, ‘took a part of the Athenian lines of attack’. Classen takes **καθ'** **ἔτερον** separately, governing the genitive by **τι**, but, as Poppo says, ‘separari posse non videntur’. He suggests that **καθ'** should perhaps be altered into **καὶ**. The instances quoted are however sufficient to support the view first given.

11. **ώς ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο**—these words, if genuine, must mean, ‘as these things happened’, i.e. as the Athenians found themselves assailed in turn by the enemy. To give the meaning ‘after this happened’, which we should rather expect, **ἐγένετο** would be needed. Poppo brackets the whole clause as weak and awkwardly inserted between **ἄλλης** and **ἥς**: and he is followed by Classen.

12. **καὶ...πολιορκούμενοι**—cf. i. 65, 1, **ἀποτειχισθεῖσης αὐτῆς...καὶ ἔχων**, where Poppo gives several instances, e.g. iv. 29, 1, of the genitive absolute thus joined with participles in the nominative.

14. *ωστε*—of conditions; ch. 17, 14. *βουλεῦσθαι*—‘decide’; the usual force of the aorist.

17. *φέρησθαι*—‘settled in’; ch. 1, 10. The reading of the best manuscripts however is *φέρισθαι*, which is adopted by Poppe and Classen; cf. i. 98, 1. Either word makes good sense, *oikízω* being ‘to settle’, i.e. to people with settlers; and the aorists are naturally liable to confusion. In the middle voice the forms of *oikízω* are to be preferred (e.g. vi. 1, 2), as the use of *oikεῖσθαι* middle is doubtful.



## APPENDIX

### Ch. cxii. 30.

ἢν μᾶς πέρι καὶ ἐσ μίαν βουλὴν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν ἔσται—the suggestion in the body of the notes, to omit *ἢν* and *ἔσται* (and perhaps also the first *πέρι*, before *πατρίδος*), makes it possible to construe this clause, in accordance with the obvious sense, and with the scholiast's explanation, καὶ τολλάκις πρὸ δόθαλμῶν λάβετε διὰ περὶ πατρίδος η̄ σκέψις, μᾶς οὖσης, περὶ ἵς ἐν μῷ βουλῇ η̄ κατορθώσετε η̄ σφαλήσεσθε. It is however not quite satisfactory, especially as regards the concluding words. One feels that *τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ* ought to go together, sc. *μὴ τυχοῖσαν*, and that *κατορθῶσαν* should be separately accounted for.

Taking this view, Mr E. S. Thompson, of Christ's College, Cambridge, proposes a restoration of the passage which is decidedly attractive (*Classical Review*, Vol. iii. p. 72). He would read καὶ ἐνθυμεῖσθε τολλάκις διὰ πατρίδος βουλεύεσθε μᾶς πέρι, ἢν καὶ ἐσ μίαν βουλὴν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθῶσαι ἔνεσται, 'and that this (fatherland), standing to win or lose on the event of only one debate, it will be in your power to establish in security'. Mr Thompson makes *τυχοῖσαν τε καὶ μὴ* refer to *ἢν* (*πατρίδα*). Would not the words go better with *βουλὴν*, 'according as your debate succeeds or fails'? That an infinitive is to be sought in *κατορθῶσαν* seems highly probable: but I am in doubt about *κατορθῶσαι πατρίδα*. There is no parallel to it in Thucydides, who generally uses *κατορθοῦν* in the sense of 'succeeding', *βουλὴν* or the like being implied. *πατρίδα* then may be the subject, not the object of *κατορθῶσαι*.

The following are some of the explanations which have been given of the passage. The list is by no means exhaustive, but is meant to indicate the main lines of solution which authorities have taken.

A. Retaining *ἢν* and *ἔσται*, (1) Professor Jowett thinks the manuscript reading probably genuine. He supplies *βουλεύεσθαι* from *βουλεύεσθε*, taking *ἔσται* to mean 'will be possible'. The

city, he says, is considered, first, as that which deliberates; secondly, as the subject of deliberation: *μᾶς πέρι* being written by confusion instead of *ἥν μίαν* (*οὐσαν*).....*ἔσται* (*βουλεύεσθαι*). *ἔς μίαν βουλήν* may follow either *βουλεύεσθαι* or *τυχοῦσάν τε κ.τ.λ.*, the latter words referring to *πατρίδα*. (2) With the same general view, *τυχοῦσάν τε κ.τ.λ.* may be referred to *βουλήν*.

B. Reading *ἥς* instead of *ἥν*, the clause = *ἥς πέρι μᾶς (οὐσῆς)...* (*βουλεύεσθαι*) *ἔσται*. We thus get the meaning ‘and that you will have the opportunity of deliberating (or, will have to decide) concerning your only country, and that too in one deliberation, whether successful or not’.

This is not altogether unsatisfactory, but there is a harshness in supplying *βουλεύεσθαι* or *βουλεύσασθαι*, and *ἔσται* stands very awkwardly by itself. It would be better to take *ἥς πέρι...* *ἔσται* to mean ‘whose fate will be decided’, lit. ‘about which (the question) will be’: cf. iv. 63, 2, *οὐ περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι τινα*, sc. *ὁ λόγος ᔾσται*: Dem. *Androt.* 607, § 46, *οὐ περὶ πράξεως εἰσφορῶν ᔾστιν*: id. *Timocr.* 701, § 5, *περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου νῦν ὑμῖν ᔾστι*: ib. 733, § 105 (in a law), *ὅταν περὶ τοῦ τιμήματος ἔη*. There seems much in favour of this explanation.

C. Reading *ἴστε* instead of *ἔσται*, it has been proposed to refer *ἥν* (1) to *πατρίδα*, (2) to *βουλήν* supplied from *βουλεύεσθε*. The rendering is (1) ‘whose success you know (*ἥν κατορθώσασαν ίστε*) concerns your one only country, and depends on one deliberation, according as it succeeds or fails’: (2) ‘which deliberation you know whether it succeeds or fails (*ἥν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν ίστε*) relates to your only country and must be determined in one debate’.

These explanations may be varied by different arrangements of the accusative participles. They are in any case open to the objection that we should expect those participles to be future rather than aorist. Besides this, the double use required in (1) of *πατρίδα*, and in (2) of *βουλήν*, involves intolerable harshness.

#### D. Suggested alterations:

- a. for *ἔσται* read *ἴσεσθαι*, the infinitive in the relative clause being dependent on *ἐνθυμεῖσθε*. There is a confusion between *ἥν...ἴσεσθαι* and *ἥ...ἔσται*. *ἥν* may be referred to *πατρίδα* or *βουλήν* and the rest of the clause variously modified.
- b. read *ἥν* (sc. *βουλήν* or *πατρίδα*)...*ἴστατε* or *ἔξετε*.
- c. *ἥ μᾶς ἐπὶ ροπῆς...ἴσταται*.
- d. *ἥν ὑμᾶς περιποιῆσαι...ἔσται*.

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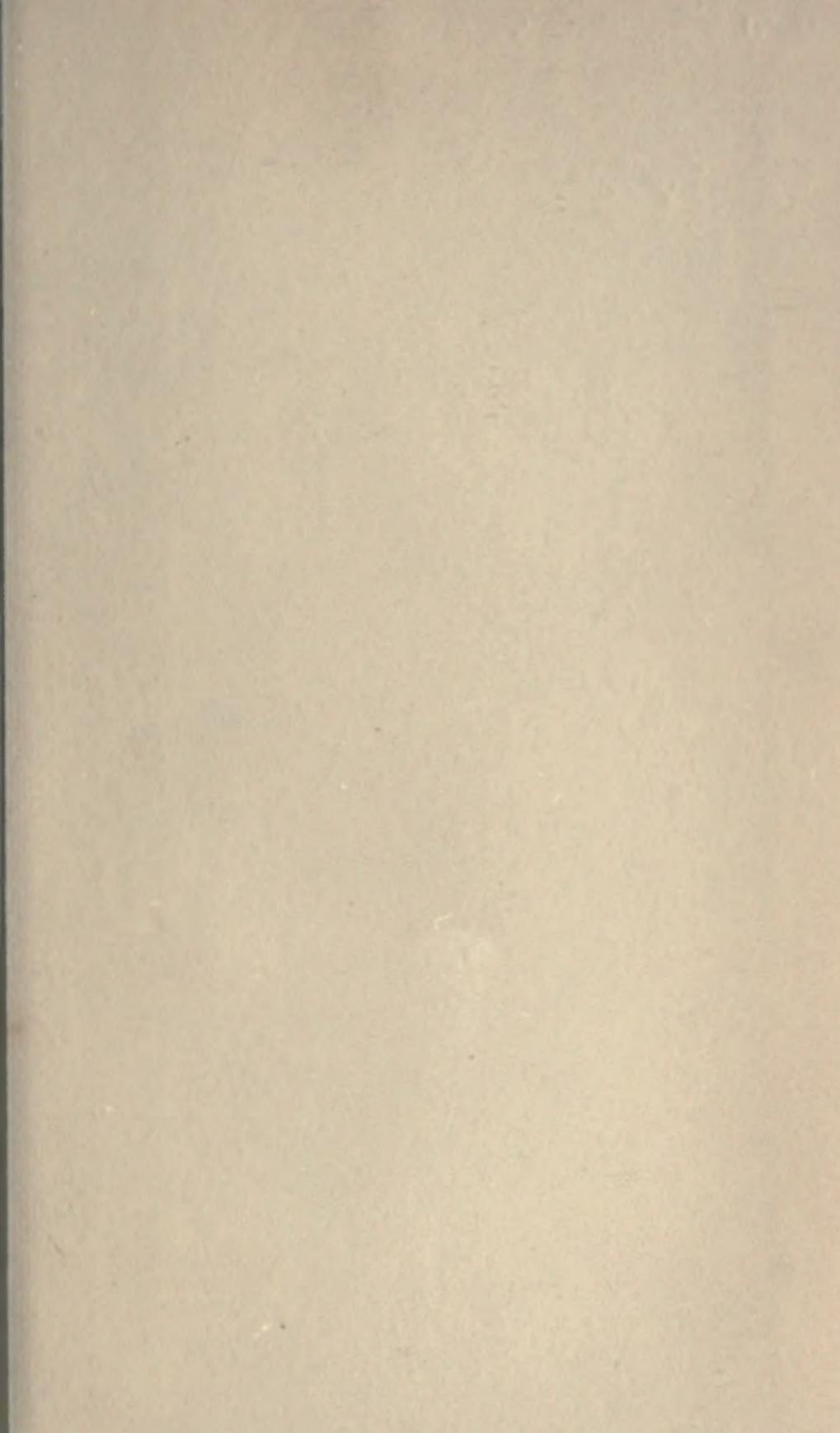
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